Men-at-Arms

OSPREY PUBLISHING

Roman Army Units in the Eastern Provinces (3)

4th–5th Centuries AD

Raffaele D'Amato • Illustrated by Raffaele Ruggeri

Men-at-Arms • 570

Roman Army Units in the Eastern Provinces (3)

4th–5th Centuries AD

Raffaele D'Amato • Illustrated by Raffaele Ruggeri

Series editor Nick Reynolds

OSPREY PUBLISHING
Bloomsbury Publishing Plc
Kemp House, Chawley Park, Cumnor Hill, Oxford OX2 9PH, UK
Bloomsbury Publishing Ireland Limited,
29 Earlsfort Terrace, Dublin 2, D02 AY28, Ireland
Bloomsbury Publishing Inc.
1359 Broadway, 12th Floor, New York, NY 10018, USA
E-mail: info@ospreypublishing.com
www.ospreypublishing.com

OSPREY is a trademark of Osprey Publishing Ltd

First published in Great Britain in 2026

This electronic edition published in 2026 by Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

© Osprey Publishing Ltd, 2026

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be: i) reproduced or transmitted in any form, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or by means of any information storage or retrieval system without prior permission in writing from the publishers; or ii) used or reproduced in any way for the training, development or operation of artificial intelligence (AI) technologies, including generative AI technologies. The rights holders expressly reserve this publication from the text and data mining exception as per Article 4(3) of the Digital Single Market Directive (EU) 2019/790

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN: PB 9781472873118; eBook 9781472873125;
ePDF 9781472873095; XML 9781472873101

Index by Alison Worthington
Typeset by Lumina Datamatics Ltd

Osprey Publishing supports the Woodland Trust, the UK's leading woodland conservation charity.

To find out more about our authors and books visit **www.ospreypublishing.com**. Here you will find extracts, author interviews, details of forthcoming events and the option to sign up for our newsletter.

For product safety related questions contact productsafety@bloomsbury.com

Dedication

To my daughter Maya, my princess.

Acknowledgements

A book on the Roman Army involves, usually, lovers of the Roman world, museums and institutions; and this book, the sixth of a series dedicated to the Roman provinces, is a further confirmation of that.

Professor Livio Zerbini of the University of Ferrara has provided invaluable assistance with obtaining from different museums and institutions the permission to view and photograph the related material. In addition, I have to thank sincerely my dear friend, Professor Valeri Yotov, for his help in providing photographs and information on the material from Bulgaria. I would also like to thank my dear colleague Stoyan Popov and the Vatevi Collection for the photographs of the Late Roman greaves, previously unpublished.

I would also like to thank the following: the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; the Petrie Museum of Egyptian and Sudanese Archaeology and its curator, Dr Anna Garnett; the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden; the Museum of Augusta Raurica, Augst; le musée du Louvre, Paris; the Archaeological Museum of Thebes; the Argos Archaeological Museum; the Tirana National Archaeological Museum; the National Museum of Požarevac; the Museum of Vojvodina, Novi Sad; the National Museum Zaječar and the Gamzigrad-Felix Romuliana archaeological site; the National Archaeological Museum, Sofia; the Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg; Zippori National Park; the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and my dear friend Ashraf Nageh for his help in loco; the Bandırma Archaeological Museum; the Çanakkale Archaeological Museum; the Kocaeli Museum, İzmit; the Bursa Archaeological Museum; the Sadberk Hanım Museum, İstanbul; the Hisart Museum, İstanbul, and especially Dr Nejat Çuhadaroğlu and Dr Ömer Çalşimşek. I owe a special acknowledgement to Dr Fede Berti of the University of Ferrara for the material from the Iasos excavations.

Special thanks must be given to Carole Raddato and the Ferrell Collection who, as always, with great courtesy, have shared with me their precious and unequalled collection of photographs on Roman civilization, and unpublished material, with kindness and enthusiasm. Acknowledgment is due also to my dear friends Ayça and İlkay Dost, who assisted me in obtaining photographs of very difficult Turkish material. I am deeply indebted to my colleague Dr Jane Hamilton for the magnificent photograph of the Luxor Roman chapel. Special thanks must be given for the always precious assistance and inestimable help in collecting the photographic and pictorial material, in the search of the sources, in the preparation of the drawings, in patient assistance in my various travels and in many other numerous activities to my dear friends Andrea Salimbeti, Dr Massimo Bizzarri, Professor Andrei Negin, Dr Marco Saliola and Flavio Olivieri, who skilfully arranged the illustrations. Last but not least, I am deeply grateful again to my friend and illustrator Raffaele Ruggeri, who has once again provided a splendid group of illustrations of the Late Roman Army in the East, for bearing my pedantry with patience.

Artist's note

Readers may care to note that the original paintings from which the colour plates in this book were prepared are available for private sale. All reproduction copyright whatsoever is retained by the publishers. All enquiries should be addressed to:

raffaele.ruggeri@alice.it

The publishers regret that they can enter into no correspondence upon this matter.

Title-page illustration: Dated to *c*.300, the restored fresco of Diocletian's shrine at Luxor (Egypt), formerly in the diocese of Aegyptus, has revealed the costumes of a group of Late Roman soldiers, possibly *domestici protectores* of the Emperor. The colours of the military dress correspond to those of the mosaics found at Piazza Armerina (Sicily, Italy): sleeved tunics with rich purple *orbiculi* and *clavi*, and brown *sagia* (military cloaks) fastened on the right side by crossbow *fibulae*. Reconstruction in Plate H1. (Courtesy Dr Jane Hamilton)

ROMAN ARMY UNITS IN THE EASTERN PROVINCES (3)

4TH–5TH CENTURIES AD

INTRODUCTION

Constantine I (r. 306–37) decided to follow the state reforms initiated by Diocletian (r. 284–305), aware that the Roman Empire could only survive strategically if the areas of the East and Illyricum were kept under full control; the Roman senate and the central institutions of imperial power in Rome did not provide a guarantee that they could administer a huge state, constantly causing conflicts with rich provinces, especially Aegyptus and Syria, and therefore also with Christians who founded their church organization in those areas. All those who intended to rule the Roman Empire looked for a foothold in Illyricum, where they placed their best mobile troops, and from Diocletian on they moved the capital to the East, so it was only a matter of time before the new seat of the Roman Empire was built on the Bosphorus waterway.

Gold crossbow *fibula* with niello decoration, Constantinople, *c*.340–60. The emperor gave this type of *fibula* personally to military commanders and administration dignitaries on the occasion of public holidays (*dies imperii*) and the anniversary of his reign (*vota*). They were produced in the imperial workshops, which travelled with the emperor. Specimens were made of gold, silver and copper alloy, which most likely, depending on the metal of which they were made, denoted the rank of their owners. (Ferrell Collection)

The Eastern policy of the Roman emperors was, from one side, in Eastern Europe, the reinforcement and the defence of the Balkan peninsula, which in the 4th and 5th centuries was coveted by barbarian peoples, both sedentary and nomadic; while from the other side – and one of the reasons why the imperial capital was moved east to Constantinople – the defence of the rich provinces of Asia and the East against the traditional Persian enemy, represented by the Sasanian Empire.

The healthy economy of the Eastern Roman Empire – threatened in the north by Hunnic and Germanic invaders, in the east by the Persians and Isaurian revolts, in the south-east by the Saracens, and in the south-west by the new maritime power of the Vandals – allowed it to survive without having to fight the bloody battles that were essential for the survival of the Western Roman Empire. After 476, with the deposition of the last Western Emperor Romulus Augustulus (r. 475–76) by the Germanic Odoacer, only one emperor, Zeno (r. 474–75 & 476–91), was left to rule the Roman *res publica*, but effectively only its Eastern part, at least until the reconquests of Justinian I (r. 527–65) in the 6th century.

SELECT CHRONOLOGY (AD)

313: Military reform begins with a series of laws, which among other things make military office hereditary.
324: Thebes, in Greece, is simultaneously incorporated into Macedonia and Achaia, under dual administration, annexed to Macedonia or Achaia in order to create a 'military axis of power' between the two provinces, strategically necessary according to Constantine I's military strategy. On 18 September Constantine I (r. 306–37) decisively defeats Licinius I (r. 308–24) at the battle of Chrysopolis, thereby becoming sole ruler of the Roman Empire.
330, 11 May: Constantine I transfers the imperial capital to Constantinople, on the seat of ancient Byzantium.
362: Julian (r. 361–63) leads a campaign against the Persians in Mesopotamia; after the early Roman victories the Emperor is killed in obscure circumstances and the Roman Army returns to Syria.
364: The Roman Army is divided into Western and Eastern units among the brothers Valentinian I (r. 364–75) and Valens (r. 364–78) at Sirmium.
378, 9 August: The Visigoths destroy Valens' army at Adrianople; the Emperor falls on the battlefield.
380: Theodosius I (r. 379–95) settles the Visigoths as *foederati* in Thracia, and the Ostrogoths in Illyricum; Gothic troops are sent to Aegyptus, while Roman troops from Aegyptus are posted to the Balkans.
392: Stilicho fights Alaric's Goths in Thracia.
394: Theodosius I appoints Stilicho *comes* and *magister utriusque militiae*.
395: Administrative division of the Roman Empire between the two sons of Theodosius I: Arcadius (r. 383–408) gets the Eastern part, Honorius (r. 393–423) the Western part.
408: Uldin's Huns devastate Dacia Ripuaria.
412: Theodosius II (r. 402–50) begins construction of the walls of Constantinople.
434–47: Attila's Huns sack Macedonia II and the city of Stobi, Thracia; no fewer than 70 major centres of the Balkans are destroyed. The Huns obtain from Constantinople the abandonment of all the fortresses from Singidunum to Novae, an annual tribute of 700lb of gold and the title of *magister militum* for Attila.
468: Constantinople sends a fleet of 10,000 ships against Genseric, in a joint operation with the Western Roman Empire, in a bid to reconquer Africa, but the fleet is destroyed by the Vandals at Cape Bon.
470–473: The Goths conquer Singidunum; the Goths of Thracia and Pannonia march against Thessalonika, seizing the fortress of Novae as their capital in the Balkans.
488: Zeno sends Theoderic's Goths against Odoacer in Italy.
493: The Gepids take Sirmium; the Bulgarians and the Slavs ravage the Balkans.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION

This depiction of a Roman officer in the Four Seasons fresco – discovered in a Christian painted grave in the area of Novi Sad and now on display at the Museum of Vojvodina, Novi Sad – shows the *pileus pannonicus* cap, an off-white *paragaudata* tunic with *clavi*, *segmenta* and *orbiculi*, *anaxyrida* trousers and *campagi*. Note the small signalling *bandon*, suggesting the rank of *campidoctor*, and the *torques* around the neck, a symbol of rank. See Plate A3. (Author)

Constantine I reorganized the Roman Army into two entities with distinct functions. These included, on the one hand, border guards (*limitanei*) stationed in fortresses along the imperial border (*limes*), and on the other, the Emperor's mobile troops (*comitatenses*) stationed in the cities. In addition to the border troops, the Danubian fleet should also be added. Beside them the *legiones palatinae* and the *auxilia palatina* formed the imperial field army, the *comitatus*, created by the constitution of 17 June 325. Constantine I levied loyal veteran troops from the borders to supplement the troops of the *comitatus*.

Constantine I had urgently to reorganize the imperial administration and the Roman Army to deal with the Sarmatian and Germanic incursions. His military headquarters were at Sardica (present-day Sofia, Bulgaria) and Niš (in present-day Serbia); but his sons reigned from Illyricum and the Danube provinces, so much so that some historians posit that the empire was governed from Macedonia and Pannonia as centres from where it was easiest to intervene in Eastern and Central Europe with mobile corps in the various provinces, while at the same time overseeing the construction of Constantinople. The Danube *limes* went from Moesia I to Scythia.

Julian continued work on the fortifications on these provincial borders, which were part of the dioceses of Dacia Ripensis and Thracia, and which were started by Constantine I and Constantius II (r. 337–61). Aurelius Victor stated (*Sexti Aurelii Victoris* 41.18) that in Constantine I's time a bridge was built on the Danube (*per Danubium dictus*) as well as

camps and fortifications (*castra castellaque*). The weapons found in the numerous fortifications of the Danube border belt and in the Balkan provinces reveal the enlarged military presence at this time. The stone bridge on the Danube was in operation in 328 and connected the old Roman fortress on the left bank of the Danube (Iža/Celemantia) with Eska, the Roman fort on the right. Constantine I also built three walls on tributaries of the Danube to reinforce the Iron Gates sector (Dacia Ripensis).

Theodosius I rebuilt the fortifications destroyed during the Gothic and Hunnic incursions. During his reign, Constantinople began to play a military–political role for the first time; Thessalonika acted as the second metropolis of the Balkans, and a true centre of territorial reconquest hosting the imperial field army.

During the early 5th century the relative calm on the eastern borders allowed the Eastern Roman Empire to rebuild its forces to defend the Empire's western territories. The establishment of a permanent navy marked the beginning of Byzantium's maritime dominance in the eastern Mediterranean. In the 5th century the Eastern Roman Empire had the capacity to send many fleets and contingents against pirates and the Vandals in Africa. Unfortunately, the major naval expedition against the Vandals ended in failure for the Romans.

In the East, against the Persian enemy, the provinces of Mesopotamia, Osroene, Syria and Palaestina were defended by a network of fortresses and fortified cities, manned by *limitanei* and allied peoples (Armenians, Apsiles and Arabs), but also by field armies under the *magister militum per Orientem* and *magister militum praesentalis II*.

Held at the Bursa Archaeological Museum (Türkiye), this crossbow *fibula* from Prusa in the diocese of Asia is dated to the 4th century. Arched crossbow bulbous *fibulae*, also termed bulbous knob-shaped (*Zwiebelknopffibeln*) or crossbow-shaped *fibulae*, after the characteristic form of their head, have a hinge mechanism on the head, composed of a long bar, transversely positioned in relation to the bow at a right angle, and three knobs: one at the beginning of the bow and two at the ends of the bar. The bow has the form of a high arch, triangular or trapezoidal in cross-section, while the foot is rectangular or trapezoidal. The hollow-channel-type catch can have different forms of pin holder. The bow, and especially the foot of the type depicted here, was often richly decorated (especially if the *fibula* was an imperial gift) by faceting, incision, stamping or goldsmithing techniques, such as niello or the insertion of silver or gold foil ribbons along the bow and/or foot, decorated by toreutic vegetal motifs or engraving and niello. Also, the *fibulae* of this type can be decorated by granulation, filigree or pseudo-filigree. Very rarely, the decorative pierced openwork technique on gold or silver sheets, *opus interrasile*, appears on crossbow *fibulae*. (Author)

COMPOSITION

The supreme commander of the Roman Army was the emperor (*Augustus* or *Caesar*) or a *magister militum*, sometimes replaced with the *duces*, the *vicarii* and the *praepositi*. The *comites* commanded the *comitatenses*. The *duces* usually commanded the stationary troops. The commander of the legion was the *tribunus*, replaced by a *vicarius-primicerius* in case of absence, by the *campidoctor* (sometimes designated *tribunus supernumerarius*: Amm. Marc., XV.2.8), followed by the other officers, *primicerii* and *senatores*, followed by the *ducenarii* (commanders of 200 men: Veg. II.8), *centenarii* who commanded the *centuriae*, with a standard-bearer (the *draconarius*, but in certain legions also the *signifer* or *semeiophoros* and the *aquilifer*). Under the *draconarius* served the *biarchus*, then the infantrymen (*milites*) and the recruits (*tirones*).

The *legiones* were of three main types: *palatinae*, *comitatenses* and *pseudocomitatenses*. Under Constantine I, the distinction between the *comitatenses*, that is, part of the *comitatus* or mobile imperial campaign army, and the *pseudocomitatenses*, which formed a reserve army stationed in the various dioceses, became clear. The general situation is described in the *Notitia Dignitatum* and other sources.

Two *legiones*, each split into five *cohortes*, defended the lower Danube. In support of the Danube frontier the field army of the *magister praesentalis I* included six *legiones palatinae*. The same number of *legiones palatinae* formed the army of the *magister militum praesentalis II*, together with one

Held at the Kokaeli Museum (Türkiye), this bronze statuette of an imperial guardsman is from İzmit. His Pseudo-Corinthian helmet, visible also on other 4th-century artworks, along with the war axe and the *cheiroscutarion*, together with the *squama* armour, suggest an early representation of the *excubitores*, a guard unit formed in 460, during the reign of Leo I (r. 454–74). (Author)

pseudocomitatensis. Eleven *pseudocomitatenses* formed part of the army of the *magister militum per Orientem*, together with nine *comitatenses*, while 20 *comitatenses* were the legions of the *magister militum per Thraciam*. One *legio palatina*, eight *legiones comitatenses* and nine *pseudocomitatenses* were the legions of the *magister militum per Illyricum*.

All the other *legiones* or *vexillationes* operating in different provinces were considered to be *limitanei*. For example, the *Notitia Dignitatum* mentions six *legiones* for Aegyptus, those originally established by Diocletian in the three Egyptian provinces. Aegyptus suffered fewer dislocations during the 4th century than any other part of the Empire, and consequently the legions stationed there at the beginning of the century may have remained in continuous occupation. *V Macedonica* and *XIII Gemina* may be identified as *vexillationes* in Diocletian's field-army, which did not return to their original units but were retained for garrison work, and *II Flavia Constantia* appears to have been a sister-legion for *I Maximiana* (the origin of which is without question), just as *III Diocletiana* was numbered to make a numerical sequence with the previously existing *II Traiana*.

The new units of *auxilia palatina* formed, with the *legionae palatinae*, the bulk of the army. Originally recruited among barbarian prisoners of war, the *auxilia palatina* soon included Romans and barbarians, in an army ethnically composed of those living within the borders of the Empire. The *Notitia Dignitatum* lists 18 units of *auxilia palatina* for the field army of the *magister militum praesentalis I*, the troops of which were normally stationed in Greece in support of the Danube frontier, while 16 *auxilia palatina* were provided for the army of the *magister militum praesentalis II*, usually stationed in Asia Minor; two units of *auxilia palatina* were provided for Syria and six units for Illyricum.

The cavalry *vexillationes* were again divided between *palatinae* and *comitatenses*, i.e. they were provided only to the field armies. The *palatinae* were attached to the armies of the *magistri militum praesentales* and the *magister militum per Thraciam*. *Vexillationes comitatenses* were instead part of all five field armies.

Now difficult to see, this fragment of the Column of Theodosius in İstanbul (Türkiye) is dated to *c*.393 and shows troops, possibly guardsmen, with Attic or Intercisa helmets fitted with metallic crests. Unless one assumes individual arbitrariness in the wearing of high crests, and because the way the surviving original specimens were attached rules out their use as temporary parade decorations, it is reasonable to assume they served as insignia of a particular troop affiliation or a currently undefined military rank. This may be the case for Roman soldiers depicted on the Column of Theodosius. Note the Germanic style of spear (cf. p.35). (Author)

Various troops acted like *limitanei* or *ripenses* in response to the different threats on the Eastern frontier, but especially on the Danube and against the Persians, or the incursions of nomadic tribes in Aegyptus. For example the *dux Moesiae*, who defended the lower Danube against the Goths, commanded, apart from the *legiones*, three *cunei* of Illyrian cavalry and four *vexillationes* of conventional cavalry (*alae*), plus ten detachments of *milites* (formerly *vexillationes* from the *legiones*) and a river flotilla. *Cohortes* could be infantry or cavalry troops, while *ala* and *cuneus* were terms normally used for cavalry units.

One of the peoples who were at the same time enemies and allies of the Roman Empire were the Goths, since the 3rd century. A substantial number of Visigoths were employed by Theodosius I, and we cannot forget Theoderic's important role in supporting Zeno's cause against imperial usurpers. The Goths of Alaric, who, after serving as *foederati* for Theodosius I, were stationed in Macedonia and Moesia by Arcadius, formed an army inside the Eastern Roman Army. German *foederati* were installed in the old Danubian fortresses of Krivina/Iatrus (Bulgaria) and Singidunum (present-day Belgrade, Serbia) and also in the Cimmerian Bosphorus and Abkhazia, both of which were highly exposed to Persian invasion. The fierce Apsiles defended the fortresses on the Black Sea against the Persians, and Christian Arab allies formed the desert garrisons against the Sasanians as well.

The core of the Imperial Guard was composed, as in the West, of the *scholae palatinae* (*ND Or.* XI.6). Among the *scholae* is recorded also a body of *gentiles*. The *comes domesticorum* commanded the selected body of *protectores* and *domestici protectores* who acted like field officers of the Imperial *comitatus* and were also personal bodyguards (*protectores sacri lateris*) of the emperor. The *protectores divini lateris*, from the time of Constantine I onwards, were already part of the *protectores domestici* or *scholae palatinae* (successors to the praetorians). The command was divided into two: the *domestici pedites* and the *domestici equites*, probably armoured cavalry. During the reign of Leo I (r. 457–74) or Anastasius I (r. 491–518) a unit of *excubitores*, 300 elite fighters mainly recruited among Isaurian mountaineers, was added to the Imperial Guard.

Held at the Sadberk Hanım Museum in İstanbul, this *dolabra* (axe) is dated to the 4th century. It consists of a chisel-edged blade, rectangular in cross-section with straight edges, a cylindrical socket tapering to form two triangular prongs and an S-curve pick with a stylized horse's head finial. On the lower part of the blade there is a Greek inscription that begins with a cross and reads 'the modest work of Anvat'. These *dolabrae* were probably produced at Constantinople and used by miners and soldiers. A similar axe preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and found at Constantinople as well, silver inlaid, shows the possibility that *dolabrae* could have been also used by the Imperial Guard, as visible in the miniatures of the *Notitia Dignitatum* related to the *scholae palatinae* and on the base of the Column of Arcadius. (Author)

The remains of the Column of Arcadius, still visible in İstanbul, offer some interesting details of the Late Roman Army. Here the imperial chariot is represented, protected by troops. The feet of the Emperor and part of his chariot driver (*auriga*) are still visible. (Author)

UNIT DISTRIBUTION

Aeg. = Aegyptus
Arab. = Arabia
Arm. = Armenia
cent. = century/centuries
COM = *comitatensis*
Con. = Constantinople
Cun. = *cuneus*
Dac. R. = Dacia Ripensis
Dard. = Dardania
Ill. = Illyricum
Leg. = *legio*
LIM = *limitanei*
Mac. = Macedonia
Mes. = Mesopotamia
MMI = *magister militum per Illyricum*
MMO = *magister militum per Orientem*
MMP I = *magister militum praesentalis I*
MMP II = *magister militum praesentalis II*
MMT = *magister militum per Thraciam*
Moes. = Moesia
PAL = *palatina*
Pal. = Palaestina
P'COM = *pseudocomitatensis*
Phoe. = Phoenicia
Pont. = Pontus
Syr. = Syria
Thrac. = Thracia
VEX = *vexillatio*

LEGIONES

Armigeri defensores iuniores	Theb., 5th cent.
Armenii	Pont., 5th cent.
Augustenses (COM)	MMT, Moes. II, 390–500
Auxiliarii sagittarii (P'COM)	MMP II, 390–500
Balistarii iuniores (COM)	MMT, 390–443
Balistarii seniores (COM)	Chersonesus Tauricus, end 4th cent.; MMO, Syr., 390–500
Balistarii Daphnenses (COM)	Transmarina (Thrac.), ?–356; MMT, 390–500
Balistarii Theodosiani iuniores (P'COM)	MMI, 390–500
Balistarii Theodosiaci seniores (P'COM)	MMO, Nessana? (Pal.), 390–500
Britones seniores (PAL)	Ill., 390–500
Bugaracenses (P'COM)	Burgaraca/Lesnovo (Dard.), 4th cent.; Ill., 390–500
Constantini Daphnenses (COM)	Transmarica (Moes. II), 324–390; MMT, 390–500
Constantini seniores (COM)	MMT, 390–500
Daci (PAL)	MMP II, Asia, 390–500
Dianenses (COM)	MMI, 390–443
Divitenses	Mes., 363
Divitenses Gallicani (COM)	MMT, 390–500
Divitenses iuniores	Con., 365–366
Felices Theodosiani iuniores (P'COM)	MMI, 390–500
Fortenses	Amida (Mes.), 359
Fortenses (PAL)	MMP I, Mac., 390–500
Fortenses auxiliarii (P'COM)	MMO, 390–500
Funditores (P'COM)	MMO, 390–500
Germaniciani seniores (COM)	MMI, 390–443
Herculiani iuniores (PAL)	MMP I, Mac., 390–500
Ioviani iuniores (PAL)	MMP I, Mac., 390–500
Iulia Alexandria (COM)	MMT, 390–500
Lanciarii (PAL)	Con., 337–364
Lanciarii Augustenses (COM)	Dac. R., 300–390; MMI, 390–443
Lanciarii iuniores (COM)	MMI, 364–430
Lanciarii iuniores (PAL)	MMP II, Con. & Asia, 390–500
Lanciarii Sabarienses (PAL?)	Con., 337–361
Lanciarii seniores (PAL)	MMP I, Con. & Mac., 378–500
Lanciarii Stobenses (COM)	Stobi, 300–378; Hadrianopolis, 378; MMT, 378–500
Latarienses (P'COM)	Ill., 390–430
Leg. I Armeniaca (LIM)	Claudiopolis (Arm. II/Cappadocia), 325–359; Persia, 363
Leg. I Armeniaca (P'COM)	MMO, Satala (Arm. II), 400–500
Leg. I Flavia Constantia (COM)	Singara (Mes.), 359; MMO, 390–500
Leg. I Flavia Gemina	MMT, 390–443
Leg. I Flavia Theodosiana (COM)	MMO, 390–500
Leg. I Illyricorum	Palmyra (Phoe.), 390–500
Leg. I Iovia (LIM)	Noviodunum (Scyth.), 390–430
Leg. I Iovia cohors quinta pedaturae inferioris (LIM)	Accisso (Scyth.), 390–500
Leg. I Iovia cohors quinta pedaturae superioris (LIM)	Noviodunum (Scyth.), 390–500
Leg. I Isaura sagittaria (P'COM)	MMO, 390–500
Leg. I Italica	Thrac., 390
Leg. I Italica (LIM) *Cohors quinta pedaturae inferioris*	Sexagintaprista (Moes. II), 390–443
Leg. I Italica (LIM) *Cohors quinta pedaturae superioris*	Novae (Moes. II), 390–443
Leg. I Italica (P'COM)	MMO, 390–500
Leg. I Maximiana	Filas (Theb.), 390–500
Leg. I Maximiana Thebaeorum (COM)	MMT, 390–500
Leg. I Parthica Nisibenae	Constantina (Mes.), 390–500
Leg. I Pontica	Trapezunte (Pont.), 390–500
Leg. I Valentiniana	Coptos (Theb.), 390–500
Leg. II Armeniaca (P'COM)	MMO, 390–500
Leg. II Felix Valentis Thebaeorum (COM)	MMO, 390–500
Leg. II Flavia Constantia Thebaeorum	Cusas (Theb.), 390–500
Leg. II Flavia Constantia Thebaeorum (COM)	MMO, 390–500
Leg. II Flavia Gemina	MMT, 390–443
Leg. II Herculia (LIM)	Trosmis (Scyth.), 390–500
Leg. II Herculia cohors quinta pedaturae inferioris (LIM)	Iprosmis (Scyth.), 390–500
Leg. II Herculia cohors quinta pedaturae superioris (LIM)	Axiupolis (Scyth.), 390–500
Leg. II Herculia musculorum Scythicorum et classis (LIM)	Inplateypegiis (Scyth.), 390–430
Leg. II Isaura	Isauria, 390–430
Leg. II Parthica	Cefae (Mes.), 390–500
Leg. II Traiana	Apollonos Superioris (Theb.), 300–500; Parembole (Aeg. Iovia), 390–500
Leg. II Traiana (VEX)	Hellespontus (Asia), 320; Frigia (Pont.), 4th cent.
Leg. II Valentiniana	Hermunthi (Theb.), 390–500
Leg. III Cyrenaica	Bosra (Arab.), 390–500
Leg. III Diocletiana Thebaeorum (COM)	MMT, 390–443
Leg. III Diocletiana Thebaidos	Andro (Aeg.), 300–500
Leg. III Diocletiana Thebaidos (LIM)	Thebes (Theb. I), early 4th cent.–500; Nag al-Hagar/Praesentia (Theb.), 390–500
Leg. III Diocletiana Thebaidos (VEX)	Luxor (Aeg.), 301; Panopolis (Aeg.), 302; Kom Ombo (Theb. II), early 4th cent.–500; Mac., 390–443
Leg. III Gallica	Danaba (Phoe.), 390–443
Leg. III Isaura	Isauria, 390–430
Leg. IIII Martia (LIM)	el-Lejjun/Betthorus (Arab.), 390–500
Leg. IIII Parthica	Circesio (Osr.), 390–500
Leg. IV Flavia	Singidunum (Moes. I), 390–500
Leg. IV Italica (P'COM)	MMO, 390–500
Leg. V Macedonica (III and IV *cohortes*)	Cebro, Oescum, Variniana, Sucidava (Dac. R.), 329–500
Leg. V Macedonica (COM)	Memfi (Aeg.), 390–500; MMO (Syr.), 390–500
Leg. V Parthica	Amida (Mes.), 359
Leg. VI Parthica (P'COM)	MMO, 390–500
Leg. VII Claudia	Cuppis, Viminacium (Moes. I), 300–447
Leg. VII Gemina (COM)	MMO, 390–500
Leg. X Gemina (COM)	MMO (Syr.), 390–500
Leg. X Gemina (VEX, COM)	Singidunum (Moes. I), 350
Leg. X Fretensis	Ailae (Pal.), 390–500
Leg. XI Claudia	Silistra/Durostorum (Moes. II), 390–447
Leg. XI Claudia (LIM) *cohors quinta pedaturae inferioris*	Transmaris (Moes. II), 390–447
Leg. XI Claudia (LIM) *cohors quinta pedaturae superioris*	Transmaris (Moes. II) 390–447
Leg. XII Fulminata	Melitene (Arm.), 390–500
Leg. XIII Gemina (VEX)	Amida (Mes.), 359
Leg. XIII Geminae	Burgonovo (Dac. R.), 390–447
Leg. XIII Geminae (VEX)	Aegeta, Transdobreta, Burgo Novo, Zernis, Ratiaria, Sucidava (Dac. R.), 390–447
Leg. XIII Geminae (VEX, COM)	Babylon (Aeg.), 300–500
Leg. XV Apollinaris	Satala (Arm.), 390–500
Leg. XVI Flavia Firma	Sura (Syr.), 390–500
Martenses seniores (COM)	MMO (Syr.), 390–500
Martii (COM)	MMI, 390–443
Matiarii constantes (COM)	MMI, 390–443
Matiarii iuniores (PAL)	MMP I, Mac., 390–500
Matiarii seniores (PAL)	MMP II, Asia, 390–500
Menapii	MMT, 390–500
Merenses (P'COM)	MMI, 312/24–500
Minervii (COM)	MMI, 390–500
Nervii (PAL)	MMP I, 390–500; Mac., 390–500
Pannoniciani iuniores (COM)	MMT, 390–500
Prima Flavia Constantia (COM)	Syr., 390–500
Primani (PAL)	MMP II, Asia, 390–500
Quartodecimani (COM)	MMT, 390–500
Scupenses (P'COM)	MMI, Scupi (Dard.), 312/24–443
Scythae (PAL)	MMP II, Asia, 390–500
Secunda Felix Valentis Thebaeorum (COM)	Syr., 390–500
Secunda Flavia Constantia Thebaeorum (COM)	Syr., 390–500
Secundani (COM)	MMI, 390–500
Secundi Theodosiani (P'COM)	MMI, 390–500
Septima Gemina (COM)	Syr., 390–500
Solenses iuniores or *Gallicani* (COM)	MMT, 390–500
Solenses seniores (COM)	MMT, 390–500
Taanni or *Tzannii* (COM)	MMT, 390–500
Tertio Decimani (COM)	MMT, 390–430
Timacenses auxiliarii (P'COM)	MMI, 312/24–500

Transtigritani (P'COM)	MMO, 312/324–487/98; Arsinoe (Aeg.), 487/98–500
Ulpianenses (P'COM)	MMI, 312/24–500
Undecimani (PAL)	MMP II, Asia, 390–500
Valentinianenses (COM)	MMT, 390–443

SCHOLAE AND IMPERIAL GUARD, *BUCELLARII*

Unnigardae (*bucellarii*)	Cyrenaica, 410–411
Domestici equites	Con., 337–500
Domestici pedites	Con., 337–500
Schola agentum in rebus	Con., 337–500; Aeg., 390–430; Asia, 390–430; Pont., 390–430; Thrac., 390–430; *Sub praefectus augustalis*, 390–430; *Sub comes Orientis*, 390–430; *Sub proconsul Achaiae*, 390–430
Schola armaturarum iuniorum	Con., 337–500
Schola gentilium iuniorum	Con., 337–500
Schola gentilium seniorum	Con., 337–500
Schola scutariorum I	Con., 337–500
Schola scutariorum II	Con., 337–500
Schola scutariorum clibanariorum	Con., 337–500
Schola scutariorum sagittariorum	Con., 337–500

ALAE

Ala Antana dromedariorum	Antana (Pal.), 390–500
Ala Apriana	Hipponos (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala Arcadiana nuper constituta	Aeg., 390–500
Ala Auriana	Dascusa (Arm.), 390–500
Ala castello Tablariensi constituta	Arm., 390–500
Ala Constantiana	Toloha (Pal.), 390–500
Ala Felix Theodosiana	Silvanis (Arm.), 390–500
Ala Germanorum	Pescla (Theb.), 390–500
Ala Idiota constituta	Pal., 390–500
Ala Neptunia	Chenoboscia (Theb.), 390–500
Ala Nova Diocletiana	Veriaraca (Phoe.), 390–500
Ala Rizena	Aladalearіza (Arm.), 390–500
Ala Theodosiana	Apud Auaxam (Arm.), 390–500
Ala Theodosiana nuper constituta	Aeg., 390–500
Ala veterana Gallorum	Rinocoruna (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala I Abasgorum	Hibeo-oasesos maioris (Theb.), 390–500
Ala I Aegyptiorum	Selle (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala I Alamannorum	Neia (Phoe.), 390–500
Ala I Augusta Colonorum	Chiaca (Arm.), 390–500
Ala I Damascena	Monte Iovis (Phoe.), 390–500
Ala I Felix Theodosiana	Pithiae (Arm.), 390–500
Ala I Foenicum	Rene (Phoe.), 390–500
Ala I Francorum	Cunna (Phoe.), 390–500; Contra Apollonos (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala I Herculia	Scenas extra Gerasa (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala I Hiberorum	Thmou (Theb.), 390–500
Ala I Iovia catafractariorum	Pampane (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala I Iovia felix	Chaszanenica (Arm.), 390–500
Ala I Iuthungorum	Salutaria (Siriae), 390–500
Ala I Miliaria	Hasta (Pal.), 390–500
Ala I Miliaria Sebastena	Asuada (Pal.), 390–500
Ala I Nova Diocletiana	Thannurim and Horoba (Osr.), 390–430
Ala I Nova Herculia	Ammuda (Siriae), 390–500
Ala I Parthorum	Resaia (Osr.), 390–430
Ala I praetoria nuper constituta	Arm., 390–500
Ala I Quadorum	Oasi Minore-Trimtheos (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala I Salutaria duodecimo constituta	Osr., 390–430
Ala I Saxonum	Verofabula (Phoe.), 390–500
Ala I Tingitana	Thinunepsi (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala I Ulpia Dacorum	Suissa (Arm.), 390–500
Ala I Valentiana	Thainatha (Arab.), 390–500
Ala I Valeria dromedariorum	Precteos (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala I Victoriae	Touia, contra Bintha, 390–500
Ala II Aegyptiorum	Tacasiria (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala II Armeniorum	Oasi Minore (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala II Assyriorum	Sosteos (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala II Constantiana	Libona (Arab.), 390–500
Ala II Felix Valentiniana	Adtitha (Arab.), 390–500
Ala II Gallorum	Aeliana (Arm.), 390–500
Ala II Herculia dromedariorum	Psinaula (Aeg.), 390–500; Apud Praesidium (Pal.), 390–500
Ala II Hispanorum	Poisarietemidos (Theb.), 390–500
Ala II Miliarensis	Naarsafari (Arab.), 390–500
Ala II nova Aegyptiorum	Cartha (Mes.), 390–500
Ala II Paflagonum	Thillafica (Osr.), 390–430
Ala II Salutis	Arefa (Phoe.), 390–500
Ala II Ulpia Afrorum	Thaubasteos (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala III Arabum	Thenenuthi (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala III dromedariorum	Maximianopolis (Theb.), 390–500
Ala IV Britonum	Isius (Theb.), 390–500
Ala V Praelectorum	Dionisiada (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala V Raetorum	Scenas Veteranorum (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala VI Hispanorum	Gomoha (Arab.), 390–500
Ala VII Herculia Voluntaria	Contra Lata (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala VII Sarmatarum	Scenas Mandrorum (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala VII Valeria Praelectorum	Thillacama (Osr.), 390–500
Ala VIII	Abydum/Abocedo (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala VIII Flavia Francorum	Ripaltha (Mes.), 390–500
Ala VIII Palmyrenorum	Foenicionis (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala VIII Vandilorum	Nee (Aeg.), 390–500
Ala IX Miliaria	Auatha (Arab.), 390–500
Ala XV Flavia Carduenorum	Caini (Mes.), 390–500

COHORTES

Cohors	Mochora (Arm.), 390–500
Cohors Apuleia Civium Romanorum	Ysiporto (Arm.), 390–500
Cohors miliaria Bosporiana	Arauraca (Arm.), 390–500
Cohors miliaria Germanorum	Sisila (Arm.), 390–500
Cohors Novae	Sostica (Dac. R.), 390–430
Cohors quinquagenaria Arabum	Beth-Allaha (Mes.), 390–500
Cohors scutata civium Romanorum	Mutheos (Aeg.), 390–500
Cohors I agentenaria (centenaria)	Tarba (Pal.), 390–500
Cohors I Apamenorum	Silili (Aeg.), 390–500
Cohors I Augusta Pannoniorum	Tohu (Aeg.), 390–500
Cohors I Aureliana	sub Radice – Viamata (Thrac.), 390–430
Cohors I Claudia equitata	Sebastopolis (Arm.), 390–500
Cohors I Epireorum	Castra Iudaeorum (Aeg.), 390–500
Cohors I equitata	Calamona (Pal.), 390–500
Cohors I Eufratensis	Maratha (Osr.), 390–430
Cohors I Felix Theodosiana	Elephantina (Aeg.), 390–500
Cohors I Flavia	Moleatha (Pal.), 390–500
Cohors I Gaetulorum	Thillaamana (Osr.), 390–430
Cohors I Gotthorum	Helela (Siriae), 390–500
Cohors I Iulia Lectorum	Vale Alba (Phoe.), 390–500
Cohors I Lepidiana	Caene (Arm.), 390–500
Cohors I Lusitanorum	Theraco (Aeg.), 390–500
Cohors I Miliaria Thracum	Adtitha (Arab.), 390–500
Cohors I Orientalis	Thama (Phoe.), 390–500
Cohors I Pacata Alamannorum	Oneuatha (Phoe.), 390–500
Cohors I sagittariorum	Naithu (Aeg.), 390–500
Cohors I Salutaria	Inter Aelia et Ierichunta (Pal.), 390–500
Cohors I Theodosiana	Valentia (Arm.), 390–500
Cohors I Ulpia Dacorum	Claudiana (Syr.), 390–500
Cohors I Victorum	Ammattha (Syr.), 390–500
Cohors II Aegyptiorum	Valle Diocletiana (Phoe.), 390–500
Cohors II Astarum	Busiris (Aeg.), 390–500
Cohors II Cretensis	iuxta Iordanem (Pal.), 390–500
Cohors II Galatarum	Arieldela (Pal.), 390–500
Cohors II Gratiana	Iehibo (Pal.), 390–500
Cohors II Ituraeorum	Aiy (Aeg.), 390–500
Cohors II reducum	Siosta (Dac. R.), 390–430
Cohors II Thracum	Muson (Aeg.), 390–500
Cohors II Valentiana	Ziganne (Arm.), 390–500
Cohors III Alpinorum	Apud Arnona (Arab.), 390–430
Cohors III Felix Arabum	In ripa Uade Afaris fluvii in castris Arnonensibus (Arab.), 390–500
Cohors III Galatarum	Cefro (Aeg.), 390–500
Cohors III Herculia	Veranoca (Phoe.), 390–500
Cohors III Ulpia miliaria Petraeorum	Metita (Arm.), 390–500
Cohors III Valeria	Marmantarum (Syr.), 390–500
Cohors III Valeria Bacarum (Bracaraugustanorum)	Drasdea (Thrac.), 390–430
Cohors IIII Frygum	Praesidio (Pal.), 390–430
Cohors IIII Gallorum	Ulucitra (Rhodope), 390–430
Cohors IIII Iuthungorum	Affrodito (Aeg.), 390–500
Cohors IIII Numidarum	Narmunthi (Aeg.), 390–500
Cohors IIII Palaestinorum	Thamana (Pal.), 390–500
Cohors IIII Raetorum	Analiba (Arm.), 390–500
Cohors V Suentium	Suene (Aeg.), 390–500
Cohors VI Saginarum	Castris Lapidariorum (Aeg.), 390–500
Cohors VII Francorum	Diospolis (Aeg.), 390–500
Cohors VIII voluntaria	Ualtha (Arab.), 390–500
Cohors IX Alamannorum	Burgo Severi (Aeg.), 390–500
Cohors IX Tzanorum	Nitnu (Aeg.), 390–500
Cohors X Carthaginiensis	Cartha (Pal.), 390–500
Cohors XI Chamauorum	Peainu (Aeg.), 390–500
Cohors XII Valeria	Afro (Pal.), 390–500
Cohors XIV Valeria Zabdenorum	Maiocariri (Mes.), 390–500

CAVALRY *VEXILLATIONES*

Comites Arcadiaci (VEX, PAL)	MMT, 390–500
Comites catafractarii Bucellarii iuniores (VEX, COM)	MMO, 390–500
Comites clibanarii (VEX, PAL)	MMP I, Mac., 390–443
Comites Honoriaci (VEX, PAL)	MMT, 390–500
Comites sagittarii	Amida (Mes.), 359

Comites sagittarii Armeni (VEX, PAL)	MMP II, Asia Minor, 390–500
Comites sagittarii iuniores (VEX, PAL)	MMP I, Mac., 390–500
Comites seniores (VEX, PAL)	MMP II, Asia Minor, 390–443
Comites Taifali (VEX, PAL)	MMP I, Mac., 390–500
Equites Arcades (VEX, PAL)	MMP I, Mac., 390–500
Equites Armigeri seniores Gallicani (VEX, COM)	MMP I, 390–443
Equites Armigeri seniores Orientales (VEX, COM)	MMO, 390–500
Equites Batavi iuniores (VEX, PAL)	MMP II, Asia Minor, 390–500
Equites Brachiati iuniores (VEX, PAL)	MMP II, Asia Minor, 390–500
Equites catafractarii (VEX, COM)	MMP II, Asia Minor, 390–500
Equites catafractarii Albigenses (VEX, COM)	MMT, 390–443
Equites catafractarii Ambianenses (VEX, COM)	MMP II, Asia Minor, 390–500
Equites catafractarii Biturigenses (VEX, COM)	MMP I, Mac., 390–443
Equites Dalmatae Illyriciani	Barbalisso (Syr.), 390–500; Benosabae (Pal.), 390–500; Ganaba, Dabana (Osr.), 390–500; Lataui, (Phoe.), 390–500; Ziza (Arab.), 390–500
Equites ducatores Illyriciani	Amida (Mes.), 359
Equites Felices Honoriani	Asfynis (Thebaides, Aeg.), 390–500
Equites Felices Honoriani Illyriciani	Constantina (Mes.), 390–500
Equites Germaniciani seniores (VEX, COM)	MMI, 390–443
Equites Mauri Illyriciani	Aeliae (Pal.), 390–500; Areopolis (Arab.), 390–500; Neocaesarea (Syr.), 390–500; Otthara (Phoe.), 390–500
Equites nono Dalmatae (VEX, COM)	MMP I, 390–443
Equites Persae clibanarii (VEX, PAL)	MMP II, Asia Minor, 390–500
Equites promoti clibanarii (VEX, COM)	MMO, 390–500
Equites promoti Illyriciani	Callinicum (Osr.), 390–500; Menochiae (Pal.), 390–500; Occariba (Syr.), 390–500
Equites promoti iuniores (VEX, COM)	MMP I, 390–443
Equites promoti indigenae	Auatha, Nazala, Saltatha (Phoe.), 390–500; Banasam, Sina Iudaeorum (Osr.), 390–500; Constantina, Apadna (Mes.), 390–500; Mefa, Speluncis (Arab.), 390–500; Rosafa, Adada (Syr.), 390–500; Thebaides (Aeg.), 390–500; Zodocathae, Sabaiae (Pal.), 390–500
Equites promoti seniores (VEX, PAL)	MMP I, Mac., 390–443
Equites pseudocomitatenses Timacenses	Felix Romuliana (Dac. R.), late 4th–early 5th cent.
Equites sagittarii	Acadama, Acauatha (Syr.), 390–500; Sabbu, Domana (Arm.), 390–500
Equites sagittarii indigenae	Abina, Adatha, Calamona, Casama (Phoe.), 390–500; Coptos, Diospoli, Lato, Maximianopolis, Tentira (Thebaides, Aeg.), 390–500; Dia-Fenis, Gadda (Arab.), 390–500; Hauanae, Moahile, Robatae, Zoarae (Pal.), 390–500; Matthana, Anatha (Syr.), 390–500; Oraba, Thillazamana (Osr.), 390–500; Thannuri (Mes.), 390–500
Equites sagittarii indigenae Arabanenses	Mefana/Cartha (Mes.), 390–500
Equites sagittarii indigenae Medianenses	Mediana (Osr.), 390–500
Equites sagittarii indigenae Thibithenses	Thilbisme (Mes.), 390–500
Equites sagittarii indigenae I Osrhoeni	Rasin (Osr.), 390–500
Equites sagittarii iuniores (VEX, COM)	MMT, 390–443
Equites sagittarii seniores (VEX, COM)	MMI, 390–443; MMT, 390–443
Equites Saraceni	Thelsee (Phoe.), 390–500
Equites Saraceni indigenae	Betproclis (Phoe.), 390–500
Equites Saraceni Thamudeni	Scenas Veteranorum (Aeg.), 390–500
Equites scutarii (VEX, COM)	MMP II, 390–443
Equites scutarii indigenae Pafenses	Assara (Mes.), 390–500
Equites scutarii Illyriciani	Amidae (Mes.), 359 and 390–500; Chermulae (Pal.), 390–500; Euhari (Phoe.), 390–500; Motha (Arab.), 390–500; Seriane (Syr.), 390–500
Equites stablesiani (VEX, COM)	Pelusium (Aeg.), 390–500
Equites Thamudeni Illyriciani	Birsama (Pal.), 390–500
Equites Theodosiaci iuniores (VEX, PAL)	MMT, 390–443
Equites Theodosiaci seniores (VEX, PAL)	MMP II, Asia Minor, 390–500
Equites I clibanarii Parthi (VEX, COM)	MMP I, 390–443
Equites I Felices sagittarii indigenae Palaestini	Saburae or Veterocariae (Pal.), 390–500
Equites I sagittarii (VEX, COM)	MMO, 390–500
Equites I scutarii (VEX, COM)	MMP I, 390–443
Equites I scutarii Orientales (VEX, COM)	MMO, 390–500
Equites I Theodosiani	MMT, 390–443
Equites II clibanarii Parthi (VEX, COM)	MMP II, 390–443
Equites II scutarii (VEX, COM)	Asia Minor MMP II, 390–500
Equites II stablesiani (VEX, COM)	MMO, 390–500
Equites III Dalmatae (VEX, COM)	MMO, 390–500
Equites III stablesiani (VEX, COM)	MMO, 390–500
Equites IIII clibanarii Parthi (VEX, COM)	MMO, 390–500
Equites V Dalmatae (VEX, COM)	MMP I, 390–443
Equites VI Dalmatae (VEX, COM)	MMP II, Asia Minor, 390–500

MILITES

Milites	contra Margum in Castris Augustoflavianensibus (Moes. I), 390–443
Milites Altinenses Nauclarii	Altino (Moes. II), 390–443
Milites Cimbriani	Cimbrianis (Moes. II), 390–443
Milites Constantini	Trimammio (Moes. II), 390–430
Milites Dacisci	Mediolana (Moes. II), 390–443
Milites Exploratorum (*Praefectus*)	Novis, Taliatae, Zmirnae (Moes. I), 390–430; Transdiernis (Dac. R.), 390–430
Milites Miliarenses (ex *leg. III Thebaidos*)	Syene (Theb. I), 390–500
Milites Moesiaci	Teglicio (Moes. I), 390–500
Milites Nauclarii	Flaviana (Scyth.), 390–500
Milites Novenses	Transmariscae (Moes. II), 390–500
Milites Praeventores	Amidae (Mes.), 359; Ansamo (Moes. II), 390–500
Milites Scythici	Dirigothia, Carso (Scyth.), 390–500
Milites Superventores	Amidae (Mes.), 390–500; Axiupoli (Scyth.), 390–500
Milites Vincentiensium	Laedemata/Laederata (Moes. I), 390–500
Milites I Constantiani	Noviodurum (Scyth.), 390–500
Milites I Gratianenses	Gratiana (Scyth.), 390–500
Milites I Moesiaci	Candidiana (Moes. II), 390–500
Milites II Constantini	Trosmis (Scyth.), 390–500
Milites III Nauclarii	Appiaria (Moes. II), 390–500
Milites IV Constantiani	Sausonia (Scyth.), 390–500; Silistra/Durostorum (Moes. II), 390–500

AUXILIA PALATINA

Anglevarii	MMP I, 390–500
Ascarii iuniores	MMI, 390–443
Ascarii seniores	MMI, 390–443
Atecotti	MMI, 390–443
Brachiati iuniores	MMP I, 390–500
Batavi seniores	MMP I, 390–500
Bucinobantes	MMP II, 390–500
Celtae	Thrac., 324
Constantiani	MMP I, 390–500
Constantiniani	MMP II, 390–500
Cornuti	MMP II, 390–500
Defensores	MMP I, 390–500
Falchovarii	MMP II, 390–500
Felices Arcadiani iuniores	MMP II, 390–500
Felices Arcadiani seniores	MMO, 390–500
Felices Honoriani iuniores	MMP I, 390–500
Felices Honoriani seniores	MMO, 390–500
Felices Theodosiani	MMP II, 390–500
Felices Theodosiani Isauri	MMP I, 390–500
Hiberi	MMP I, 390–500
Invicti iuniores	MMI, 390–443
Mattiaci iuniores	MMP II, 390–500
Mattiaci seniores	MMP I, 390–500
Petulantes iuniores	MMI, 390–443
Raetobarii	MMP I, 390–500
Regii	MMP II, 390–500
Sagittarii Dominici	MMP II, 390–500
Sagittarii iuniores Gallicani	MMP I, 390–500
Sagittarii iuniores Orientales	MMP II, 390–500
Sagittarii Lecti	MMI, 390–443
Sagittarii seniores Gallicani	MMP I, 390–500
Sagittarii seniores Orientales	MMP II, 390–500
Salii	MMP I, 390–500
Tervingi	MMP II, 390–500
Thraces	MMP II, 390–500
Tubantes	MMP II, 390–500
Victores	MMP I, 390–500
Vindices	MMP II, 390–500
Visi	MMP I, 390–500
I Theodosiani	MMP I, 390–500
II Theodosiani	MMP II, 390–500
III sagittarii Valentis	MMP I, 390–500
III Theodosiani	MMP I, 390–500
IIII Theodosiani	MMP II, 390–500

AUXILIA	
Auxiliares Novenses	Ad Novas (Moes. I), 390–430
Auxiliares Reginenses	Contra Regina (Moes. I), 390–430
Auxiliares Tricornienses	Tricornium (Moes. I), 390–430
Auxilium Aureomontanum	Tricornio (Moes. I), 390–430
Auxilium Claustrinorum	Transluco (Dac. R.), 390–447
Auxilium Crispitiense	Crispitia (Dac. R.), 329–447
Auxilium Cuppense	Cuppis (Moes. I), 390–430
Auxilium Gratianense	Gratiana (Moes. I), 390–430
Auxilium Margense	Margo (Moes. I), 390–430
Auxilium Mariensium	Oescum (Dac. R.), 390–447
Auxilium Miliarensium	Transalba Dacie (Dac. R.), 390–447
Auxilium Taliatense	Taliata (Moes. I), 390–430
Auxilium I Daciscorum (*equites*)	Drobreta (Dac. R.), 329–447
Auxilium II Daciscorum	Burgo Zono, 390–447
CLASSES	
Classis Histricae	Aegetae (Dac. R.), 390–430; Viminacium (Moes. I)
Classis Ratianensis	Dac. R., 390–430
Classis Stradensis et Germensis	Margo (Moes. I), 390–430
Praefectus navium amnicarum et militum ibidem deputatorum	Moes. II, 390–430
CUNEI	
Cun. equitum Arcadum	Talamonio (Scyth.), 390–500
Cun. equitum armigerorum	Sexagintaprista (Moes. II), 390–500; Aegissus (Scyth.), 390–500
Cun. equitum catafractariorum	Arubio (Scyth.), 390–500
Cun. equitum Constantianorum	Uto (Dac. R.), 390–430; Pincum (Moes. I), 390–430
Cun. equitum Dalmatarum	Augustae, Varina (Dac. R.), 390–430; Cuppis, Pincum, Aureomontum (Moes. I), 390–430
Cun. equitum Dalmatarum Divitenses	Drobreta (Dac. R.), 329–430
Cun. equitum Dalmatarum Divitensium	Dortico (Dac. R.), 390–430
Cun. equitum Dalmatarum Fortensium	Bononia (Dac. R.), 390–430
Cun. equitum Maurorum scutariorum	Lico (Thebaides, Aeg.), 390–500
Cun. equitum promotorum	Viminacium, Flaviana (Moes. I), 390–430
Cun. equitum sagittariorum	Ledenatae, Triconium (Moes. I), 390–430
Cun. equitum scutariorum	Cebro, Aegetae (Dac. R.), 390–430; Appiaria, Securisca, Latius (Moes. II), 390–500; Hermopolis (Thebaides, Aeg.), 390–500; Sacidava (Scyth.), 390–500
Cun. equitum II armigerorum	Tigra (Moes. II), 390–500
Cun. equitum II clibanariorum Palmirenorum (VEX, COM)	MMO, 390–500
Cun. equitum Solensium	Dimo (Moes. II), 390–430; Capidava (Scyth.), 390–500
Cun. equitum stablesianorum	Almo (Dac. R.), 390–430; Sucidava (Moes. II), 390–500; Bireo, Cil (Scyth.), 390–500
FOEDERATI	
Germanic *foederati*	Krivina/Iatrus (Thrac.), 390–443; Singidunum (Moes. I), 390–447
Goths	Babadag-Podul Topraichioi (Scyth.), last quarter of 4th cent.

WEAPONS, EQUIPMENT AND CLOTHING

The *Notitia Dignitatum* mentions the production workshops (*fabricae*) for different types of armour in the 4th and 5th centuries. *Clibanariae*-type cuirasses were produced in Antioch, Caesarea in Cappadocia, and Nicomedia. It is important to note the concentration of these latter *fabricae* in the East, particularly on the Sasanian border. Armour and perhaps helmets may have been made also in *fabricae* for which the production is not specified by the *Notitia Dignitatum*: Thessalonika, Nis, Ratiara, Salona and certainly Constantinople.

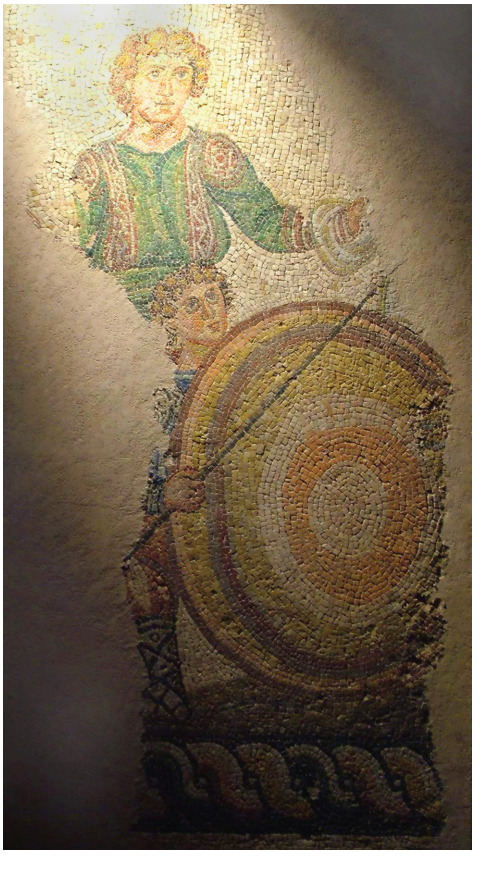
The *Notitia Dignitatum* is an important source of information for the Late Roman shields, and for the weapons of the *scholae palatinae*: in the miniature of the various codes (copies made in the 15th century or later of the original lost manuscript), we can distinguish the shields of the seven *scholae*, the long cavalry spears with painted shafts, the armour protecting the arms, legs and chests of the heavy cavalrymen, the swords and the quivers (*thekaria*) for the arrows. There are numerous depictions of moulded cuirasses in the vignette of the *fabricae* in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, although they are in the shape copied from the 15th-century manuscripts. Representation of several types of axes confirms their use in the Imperial Guard until the beginning of the 5th century and certainly beyond.

BARBARICUM

Elements of Roman helmets have been found at Tarasovskij I–II (Urals, Russia, 4th century) and Turaevo I–II (*Bandenhelm*, Volga-Ural region, Russia, late 4th–early 5th centuries). Male graves accompanied by weapons and a horse are generally considered to be privileged burials

reserved for the military elite of the Caucasus, allies and mercenaries of the Empire. This practice was common among the Apsiles (cemeteries of Cibilium 2 and 10 and Šapka-Cerkovnyj Holm-4). Thus, an axe and two spearheads were discovered alongside the deceased and his mount in grave 259 of necropolis 1 at Cibilium in a context dated between 320–30 and 400–10. This practice was followed earlier in the Roman period among the Sarmatians and the sedentary peoples of the North Caucasus and south-west Crimea, before spreading among the military elites of Central and Eastern Europe during the Hunnic period. In the graves of these warriors have been found spears, javelins, arrow points, battle axes, *spathae* and *semispathae*, mail armour, shield elements and horse harness imported from the Eastern Roman Empire, together with luxury items made at Constantinople.

Held at the National Museum Zaječar (Serbia), this mosaic depicting hunting soldiers was found in the palace of Emperor Galerius (r. 305–11) at Gamzigrad (Serbia), formerly Felix Romuliana in the diocese of Dacia, and is dated to the beginning of the 4th century. The depiction of imperial hunters (*venatores* of the *legio*) also alludes to the divine nature of the emperor. The hunting scenes in Late Roman funerary art symbolize *agon* (the heavenly contest), but, by representing real events, they also suggest the virtue and bravery (*virtus*) of the emperor himself and his soldiers. See Plate A1. (Author)



THE DIOCESE OF DACIA

This diocese encompassed Praevalitana, Dardania, Moesia I, Dacia Ripensis and Dacia Mediterranea.

Iconography

The Moesian iconography, particularly the burial paintings from Viminacium (near present-day Kostolac, Serbia) and the area of Novi Sad, contains valuable references to Roman military accoutrements, showing white or off-white tunics with *orbiculi*, *segmenta* and *clavi*, associated with the well-known military pillbox cap called the *pileus pannonicus*. In the fortress of Felix Romuliana (present-day Gamzigrad, Serbia), residence of the tetrarch Galerius (r. 305–11), military *venatores* are represented in bright blue and green tunics decorated with purple and gold *paragaudia*, while fighting a lion. From the same palace we have sculptures representing detailed military *signa*, and soldiers and officers with the *pileus pannonicus* and, on one occasion, with a Berkasovo-type helmet.

Helmets and armour

The archaeological military artefacts of the diocese of Dacia are rich and extensive, notably the famous heavy ridge-helmets of Berkasovo types (Jarak, Berkasovo I and II), belonging to officers of Licinius I's army and lost during his conflict with Constantine I. Officially, the helmets were found near Sirmium (present-day Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia), the Pannonian capital, but belonged to Licinius I's army, as attested by the Greek inscription visible on the Berkasovo I helmet; it belonged to one Dizzon, an officer who, in all probability, fought at the battle of Campus Mardiensis (late 316/early 317), in Thracia. The first crested helmet, with the inscription, was encrusted with semi-precious stones. The second crested helmet was found among two horse bits, two silver belt fittings and several pieces of sheet silver, one of which retained traces of gilding.

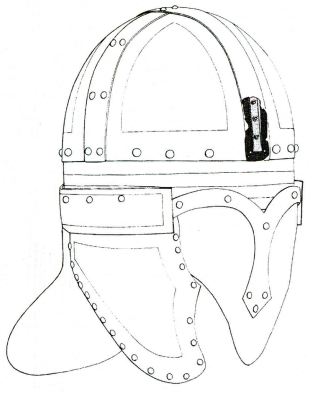
Held at the National Museum Požarevac (Serbia), this fresco is from the grave of a Roman officer of *legio VII Claudia*. His blue *sagum* (military cloak), represented twice on the fresco of his grave at Viminacium in the diocese of Dacia, shows that the colour was still associated with the cavalry in the Late Roman Army. (Author)

These kinds of helmet were produced by the specialized imperial worksmiths called *barbaricarii*. The nose fragment of a similar helmet (of Budapest typology) has been found at Singidunum and dated to *c.*350 from numismatic elements. The Christian *Chrismon* (*Chi-Ro*) is widely applied to the Roman helmets of the area. A helmet's mail neck curtain has been excavated in Galerius' tomb at Magura (Serbia). The two D-shaped iron belt buckles found at Magura were perhaps part of a horse harness or elements of helmet fastening, because, apart from the mail, on the same site was found a fragmented iron helmet cheek piece, most probably of the Intercisa type, considering its shape is similar to that of helmets found in Iatrus. Furthermore, Dr Miloš Vujović identified a metal fragment discovered in the Transdrobeta fortress (Serbia) as a helmet element (Glad 2015: 51, 71), possibly a fragment of an Intercisa IV-type crest. Other helmet fragments were found in the Danubian fortress of Rtkovo/Glamija (Serbia). Elements of mail armour have been found at Gamzigrad, and copper-alloy scales at Deč (Serbia).

Shields

Umbones of the Horgoš type – slender, tapering towards the end and with a sharp point and rather high rim – have been found at Horgoš (Serbia) and in the Viminacium area, measuring 18cm in length with a diameter at the base of 14.3cm. A very interesting typology of *umbo*, with vertical facets, like the one visible on the Diptych of Stilicho (Dobrodzień/Zieling T type), preserved in the Cathedral of Monza (Italy), has been found at Drobeta-Turnu Severin/Hinova (Romania), Horreum Margi (Serbia) and Singidunum (late 4th–early 5th centuries). Shield bosses of the Liebenau type have been found at Singidunum (mid-5th century) and Begeč/Onagrinum (Serbia; late 4th–early 5th centuries), Dičin (Czech Republic; 400–80), Viminacium (4th–5th centuries) and Mora Vagei (Serbia; 378–440). The pointed Vermand type (cf. D'Amato 2024: 22) is attested at Kupinovo (Serbia; first half of the 5th century).

Hemispherical *umbones* dated to the 4th century were found at the site of a fortress at Boljetin/Smorna (Serbia); these are of the Zieling M-R1 (4th century) and Ilkjær 5–9 types, up to 28cm in height. Their shape resembles that of the *umbones* represented on the guardsmen's shields of the Missorium of Theodosius I. Among the 4th-century *umbones* from Smorna we also have the Beth-Shan type, featuring an intermediate neck between the flat base and the compact conical dome, and having



Reconstruction of a Late Roman helmet from Singidunum, 4th–5th centuries. A fragment of a crested helmet was discovered during excavations conducted in 1981 in the lower part of present-day Belgrade (Serbia), near the banks of the Danube. This crest fragment comes from a pit that also contained various objects made of iron, copper alloy, glass, marble and bone, as well as three bricks stamped 'LEG X'. The presence of a coin in the pit suggests a date of *c*.350. The helmet's bowl, reconstructed by Dr Ivan Bugarski (2005), was possibly composed of four intermediary plates, upper and lower reinforcement bands, a frontal band flanked by other intermediary plates, two cheek pieces, a neck guard, a bronze gilded nose-guard and eyebrows. (Drawings by Andrea Salimbeti, ex Bugarski 2005)

a high neck with wide margins. The internal and external diameters are smaller than those of the Zieling M-R1 type, even though the width of the base is similar. These bosses are slightly taller than the previous ones. Similar pieces were found also at Timacum Minus (Ravna, Serbia), while elements of bosses of the Misery/Zieling H1 and Mălăeşti/Zieling I3 types were found at Smorna (4th century) and Singidunum (420–50). In these iron bosses the dome is three to four times taller than the neck. The external diameter tends to be smaller compared to previous quoted types; this is certainly linked to the reduction in the width of the base, while the cap increases in height at the expense of the neck. A shield boss was also found in a 4th-century context at Felix Romuliana, as well as at Hrtkovci-Vranja (Serbia). Along with the *umbones*, elements of shield handles were also found.

Weapons

Long *spatha* blades are attested from Singidunum, with blades of the Illerup-Wihl type being the most represented variation. It is not always possible to distinguish Illerup-Wihl blades from Straubing-Ejsbøl blades during the 375–425 period, however. The Illerup C variant includes the narrowest blades (3.5–5cm wide at the hilt) with a predominantly lenticular and lozenge cross-section and narrow median ridge. A few examples have a biconcave cross-section. Other blades have parallel grooves. This variant is found at Singidunum, Neštin, Sremska Mitrovica/Sirmium, Zemun/Taurunum and Batajnica (all in Serbia). One blade, from Rakovac (Serbia), is damascened. All these swords come from contexts linked to the peoples settled around Singidunum during the 5th century. The context of the Draževac (Serbia) sword is imprecise, but the similarity of the blade to previous finds allows for a similar dating. Already at the end of the 4th century, a *spatha* with an Asiatic-type guard is attested at Tekija/Transdierna (Serbia).

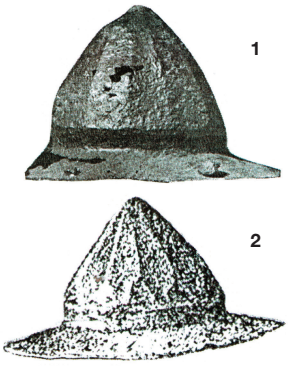
Numerous spears and javelins have been found in the Danubian fortresses. From Galerius' burial mound the finds of Roman military equipment included two fragmented iron spears, in reality one of them being a spear butt. The javelin finds included iron socketed leaf-shaped heads at Begeč/Onagrinum, Ćuprija/Horreum Margi, Gamzigrad/Felix Romuliana, Gradac/Saldum, Hrtkovci/Gomolava, Hrtkovci/Vranja, Karataš/Diana, Niška Banja, Pontes, Šarkamen, Ub-Sovljak and Viminacium (all in Serbia), and Gornea (Romania), or with a strong central groove (Felix Romuliana). A socketed slender flat head came from Rtkovo/Glamija. Another category was that of the iron socketed head with slender and rhomboidal blade (Singidunum, Begeč/Onagrinum, Smorna, Glama Bela Palanka and Inđija (all in Serbia), and Drobeta-Turnu Severin/Hinova) sometimes with long socket (Milutinovac (Serbia) and Gornea, 378–420) and triangular section (Hrtkovci/Gomolava). Not less important is attested in the diocese the iron socketed pyramidal head with square section, at Smorna, Ravna, Dičin, Karataš/Diana and Hrtkovci/Gomolava (all in Serbia), and Drobeta-Turnu Severin/Hinova and Gornea (Romania). A slender, rhomboidal-section pyramidal socketed type was found at Mediana (Serbia). The triangular type is attested at Tekija/Transdierna and Ub-Sovljak.

Spears and javelins were produced at the fortresses of Gornea and HInova, as they were straightforward to manufacture. Also, at Felix Romuliana, projectiles, iron arrowheads (*sagittae*) and spearheads of

short spears reinforced by lead (*plumbatae*) were found, dated to the late 4th and early 5th centuries. From the same period, grave goods from male burials in the Late Roman necropolis *extra muros*, indicate the presence of a military population. Numerous swallow-tail arrowheads from the 4th and 5th centuries have been found in fortresses along the Danube, such as Pontes, Ras (Serbia), Caričin Grad (Serbia) and Karataš/Diana, as well as numerous finds from Singidunum.

The Roman Army's use of war axes is well attested from the beginning of the 4th century. A stele from Gamzigrad/Felix Romuliana represents a cavalryman (an officer wearing a *pileus pannonicus* and equipped with an axe) near an infantryman with a Bersakovo helmet. The officer's only weapon is the axe, that was surely used from horseback and which finds a good parallel with three 4th-century specimens from Apollonia in the province of Epirus Nova (diocese of Macedonia). The style of the heads suggests that these axes were probably used in close combat rather than for throwing. Other axes and pick-axes have been found in various fortresses, such as Hinova, but it is not easy to distinguish work tools from weapons.

The burial of a *foederatus* (420–50), excavated at Singidunum in 2006, contained a war panoply consisting of a conical *umbo* and its handle, a long sword intentionally broken into three pieces, composite bow elements and quivers, a javelin head and arrow shafts. During the excavation of the Boljetin/Smorna *castellum*, located in the Iron Gates region, arrowheads dated to the 4th century were discovered. More precisely, some of the arrowheads could be dated to between the two layers of destruction of the fortress, between 378–80 and 440–93.

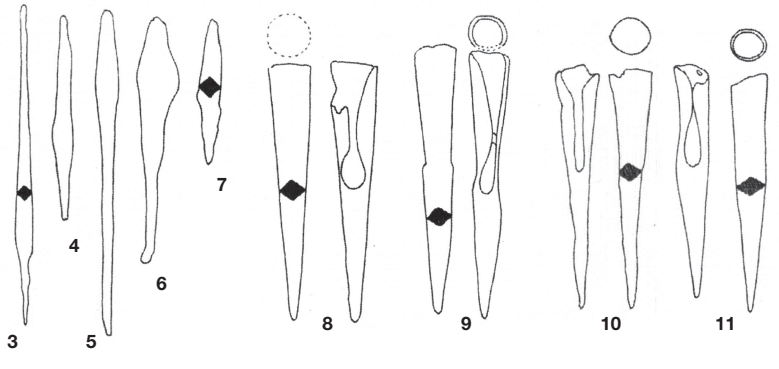


Late Roman shield elements and weapons of the 4th and 5th centuries from the fortress of Hinova (Drobeta-Turnu Severin, Romania) in the diocese of Dacia, most of which are held at the local Iron Gates Region Museum. *Umbo* (1 & 2) of Dobrodzień/ Zieling type (inv. II.10225, c.380–440), in the shape of a slightly faceted conical cap, with flared edges (10.5–11cm height, 18.5cm diameter); it was made from a single iron sheet, by hammering. Arrowheads: (3) four-edged blade and short tang (length overall 10.2cm, 8cm blade); (4) rectangular blade section, with short tang (length overall 6.5cm, 4cm blade); (5) short, beaten, circular and long tang (length overall 10.4cm, 3cm blade); (6) leaf-shaped blade and fixing tang (length overall 7.8cm, 2.5cm blade); (7) four-edged blade and fixing tang (length overall 4.5cm, 1.5cm blade). Lance butts and heels, with four-edged tip and conical fixing sleeve, and opening socket: (8) butt (length 8.5cm); (9) butt (length 8cm); (10) heel (7.5cm); (11) heel (7.5cm). (Drawings by Andrea Salimbeti, ex Stîngă 1998)

Brooches, buckles, etc.

There is a very wide range of *fibulae* to be mentioned in the diocese of Dacia. The types of *fibula* for Roman Army and *militia non armata* (administrative functionaries) of the Late Roman Empire are primarily the arched crossbow bulbous *fibulae* (in Moesia, Petković Type 34), then arched *fibulae* with one knob above the spring (Petković Type 31D), as well as arched *fibulae* with a spring and support buttress in the form of a trident (Petković Type 31E) and *fibulae* with the bow in the form of a 'fork', i.e. Neptune's trident (Petković Type 33, *tridentum*), related to the Danubian fleet (*classis Flavia Moesiaca*) at Viminacium.

Crossbow *fibulae* can be divided into several variants according to their form, decoration and the technology of their production, which correspond to precisely dated historical periods. On the Danubian



limes of Moesia I were found the Keller Type, Pröttel Type and Petković Type 34A (produced until 324) at Viminacium (the Pećine necropolis), Singidunum, Ritopek/Castra Tricornia and Čezava/Novae (all in Serbia). The crossbow *fibulae* of variant Keller Type 2, Pröttel Type 2 and Petković Type 34B (produced 311–63) were luxury items intended for high-ranking Roman military and administrative officers. They have been found at Singidunum, Viminacium and Horreum Margi, the first two also legionary camps on the Danubian *limes*. Besides these locations, they have also been found in the forts on the *limes* of Moesia I and Dacia Ripensis: Ritopek/Castra Tricornia, Sapaja/Translederata, Kladovo/Donje Butorke, Rtkovo/Glamija and Mihajlovac-Blato/Clevora (all in Serbia).

The 'imperial' *fibulae* (330–95) represent a further variant of bulbous crossbow *fibula*; these appear in a small number (Keller Type 5, Pröttel Type 5 and Petković Type 34C) at Singidunum, Viminacium, Ravna/Campsa and Prahovo/Aquae (all in Serbia), where burials of Roman Army officers were discovered. On the *limes* of Moesia I and Dacia Ripensis, the most frequent *fibula* variants are the Petković Type 34D (Keller Type 3, Pröttel Type 3/4, 360–80), again found at Viminacium, and the Petković Type 34E (Singidunum, Castra Tricornia, Viminacium, Čezava/Novae, Karataš/Diana and Kladovo/Donje Butorke), dated to the last quarter of the 4th century and the early 5th century. The last variant (Petković Type 34F) was typical of the period *c.*395–400 and has been found at Singidunum, Viminacium and Ravna/Campsa. On the Danubian *limes* they were most likely worn by the commanders of cavalry troops (*pseudocomitatenses*).

Finally, new types of Late Roman *fibulae*, types with the reversed foot (Petković Group IX, Types 35–36) and Viminacium-Novae type *fibulae* (Petković Group IX, Type 37) appear on the *limes* at the time of settlement of barbarians from the Danube's eastern bank after the battle of Adrianople in 378. They testify to the recruitment of the Roman frontier army (*limitanei*) and auxiliary troops (*auxilia*) among the newly settled Germanic *foederati* well into the middle of the 5th century, that is, the collapse of the *limes* during the Hunnic invasion of 441–43.

Military buckles corresponded to the rank of the wearer. In the officer grave of the Pećine necropolis a *fibula* made in copper alloy and gilded (Petković Type 34B3) was found, along with a buckle belonging to the type with rectangular metal fittings and a round frame, with a prong that extends over the frame and has raised work in the form of a snake's head at the end, dated to *c.*375–450. The gilded *fibula* most likely belonged to the commander of an auxiliary unit recruited among barbarians from the left bank of the Danube, considering the find of the buckle, typical of the finds of the Sântana de Mureş-Chernyakhov culture, and the gilded *fibula* was awarded to him for some military success of his unit. Kerbschnitt elements of belt have been found at Drobeta, confirming their employment among the garrisons of the eastern Danubian *limes*.

A unit of auxiliary cavalry, *equites pseudocomitatenses Timacenses*, was most probably stationed at Felix Romuliana at the end of the 4th century, as suggested by the finds of horse harness and combs with three-sided handle, decorated with the horse's protomes.

THE DIOCESE OF MACEDONIA

This diocese included Epirus Nova, Epirus Vetus, Thessalia, Achaea, Macedonia I, Macedonia II Salutaris and Creta.

Iconography

The Argos mosaic and important fragments from Thebes provide evidence of the use of *Bandenhelme* among troops stationed in the diocese of Macedonia. The ivory work from Eleutherna (Crete), representing the Achilles myth, suggests, however, that the old pseudo-Corinthian and pseudo-Attic helmets were still used by Greek-speaking Roman soldiers. Both categories of helmet are worn by the trumpeter and guardsmen on the famous KaiserAugst dish. Pseudo-Attic helmets are too widely represented in the art of these Eastern provinces to be considered an artistic convention only.

Helmets and armour

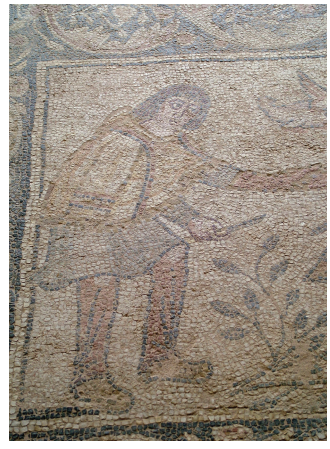
Surviving helmets confirm the iconography: the *Bandenhelm* from Scupi (present-day Skopje, North Macedonia) matches the Greek mosaics exactly. Found in the area of the orchestra of Scupi's theatre, next to the auditorium's first circular wall, the helmet has a 20cm diameter and is 16.5cm in height. Dated to the 5th–6th centuries, it consists of two parts connected with a wide crosswise stripe, like the one on the base. On one side there are two openings for attaching the missing cheek guard or, according to the iconography, a chin strap. These helmets were made entirely of iron and devoid of decoration; although the green colour of the Thebes mosaic might suggest that they were sometimes painted, in accordance with the Greek classical tradition.

The very scarce (often unpublished) elements of armour in the archaeology of the diocese of Macedonia are supplemented by the iconography, which strongly emphasizes wearers of the muscled *thorax* (*thorakophoroi*): it is difficult to deny that the artists depicted an existing armour of their time. One well-known example is the depiction of a soldier at Argos, confirming the wearing of this type of cuirass over a *thoracomachus* during the 5th-century period (D'Amato 2020: 57).

Other represented armours are padded, with diamond-shaped quilting (Achilles on the Eleutherna casket), suggesting the use of the *thoracomachus* and *globa* as the main protective defence. In Corinth (Greece), however, a bronze scale measuring 1.9cm in length has been recovered: this convex piece of metal, probably from a suit of armour, is flat on top and pointed below, with a hole through the middle.

Shields

Umbones in the diocese of Macedonia are represented by the Hübener I type (Moštica, North Macedonia), dated to the 5th century, with an apical button at the top of the dome, which is cylindroconical in shape. Other shield bosses have been found at Drenovo and Govrlevo (North Macedonia), Komini (Montenegro, first half of the 4th century) and Gradište (Croatia).



Held at the Archaeological Museum of Argos (Greece), the Mosaic of the Four Seasons, from Argos in the diocese of Macedonia, is dated to the 5th century. The mosaic depicts hunters wearing short hooded cloaks (*bardocuculli*). Interestingly, the men are equipped for the hunt with the *cultra venatoria*, a long knife that during the late Roman Empire replaced the old *pugio*. Note the man represented in the month of November holding an interesting example of a Late Roman *dolabra*. (Author)

Held at the Archaeological Museum of Thebes (Greece), this 5th-century mosaic shows the use of a painted *Bandenhelm* by this lightly armoured *stratiotes*, which is comparable, in the diocese of Macedonia, with the Scupi helmet. (Author)

Weapons

The Gothic *foederatus* buried with his sword, shield and spear at Thessaloniki casts light on the weaponry of the diocese of Macedonia, although his sword had been deliberately folded. The kind of *culter venatorius* illustrated in the Argos mosaic is well represented, in archaeology, by a specimen from Corinth, an iron knife blade still 8.8cm long, coming from a 4th-century context. At Stobi (near Gradsko, North Macedonia), together with the bow fragments, two short blades have been recovered – not just knives, but battle scramasaxes, probably examples of Late Roman *semispathae*.

At Burrel (Albania), formerly a fortified site in Epirus Nova, a centrally ribbed spearhead was discovered in one of the 27 burials and dated to the second half of the 4th century with a coin of Valentinian I. From Komini came a similar spearhead with rhomboidal section. *Plumbatae*, aka *mattiobarbuli*, have been found in Peloponnesus (Greece) and at Scupi, dated to the 4th–5th centuries. The *plumbata* found in the Late Antiquity Building 2 at Scupi measures 7cm in length, with a diameter of 2.2cm. The lower part of the arrowhead with the lead weight and a part of the iron body is still preserved.

Warriors buried with a war axe have been discovered on the border between Macedonia II Salutaris and Epirus Nova. The man of the Komini burial was a Sarmatian *deditícius*, a former enemy of the Romans who surrendered and settled in this territory after Constantine I defeated the Sarmatians in 334 during his conflict with the Limigantes. The warrior found at Taraneš (North Macedonia) was buried with an asymmetrical axe, discovered along with a *culter venatorius*. According to Milan Ivanovski (Glad 2015: 340), these were the weapons of a barbarian officer who served in the Roman Army during the reign of Licinius I. Both axes feature a strong symmetrical protrusion at the haft and a very pronounced asymmetrical edge. In shape, these axes are different from other Late Roman axes, which are characterized by a slightly curved back.

Among the weaponry found at Stobi and Heraclea Lyncestis (North Macedonia), the latter located on the Via Aegnatia in Macedonia I, are bone stiffeners for a composite bow and three trilobate arrowheads, discovered in the episcopal residence and in Basilica D at Heraclea. It is probable that this weaponry is linked to the Hunnic attack of 447–50. The parts of the sheathing of the composite bow were accompanied by single-edged, flat-topped or curved knives with blades about 20cm long, and the trilobate arrowheads had a 'thorn' for planting, characteristic of nomadic peoples. These findings come from the layer of the great fire in the mid-5th century, dated from the coins of Theodosius II (r. 402–50) and Valentinian III (r. 425–55), corresponding to the Hunnic invasion (441–47). Parts of the casings of composite bows and trilobate arrows were also found. Such a bow could have been used not only by the Huns, but also by the Alans or one

of the peoples that made up the Hunnic alliance, or by the Roman defenders.

A trilobate arrowhead and a bolt (5th century) were found in a mountain fortress north-east of Brailovo (North Macedonia). A trilobate blade with tang circular in section was also found in the Corinth excavations and dated to the 4th century. Among the different types of arrows related to the 5th century, we can include the arrows with a tang of Mediterranean type or the so-called 'swallow's tail' (4.2cm long). These are arrows with a point that has slightly divided blades in the shape of a swallow's tail and a long tang. Earliest dated samples from the area of Macedonia (4th–5th centuries) were found in the Late Antiquity settlement layers on the island of Golem Grad, in North Macedonia's Lake Prespa. Found along the Danube, deltoid arrows with a socket with circular section are dated to *c.*375–400.

Roman military items, 5th century, from various Late Antique settlements and cemeteries like the ones of Kalldrun and Zgërdhesh (Albania), in the diocese of Macedonia, now held at the Tirana National Archaeological Museum: (1) arrow point; (2) spear socket; (3) bronze crossbow *fibula*; (4) omega-type *fibula*; (5) barbed javelin head; (6 & 7) crossbow *fibulae*. (Author)

Brooches, buckles, etc.

A cruciform (bulbous) *fibula*, the typical crossbow brooch, was found at the Ramnište site in the village of Klečovce (North Macedonia). According to Keller's typology, we can place this *fibula* in the 350–80 period. These types of *fibula*, common in this period, were awarded to Roman soldiers and veterans. Five more *fibulae* of this type were found in the Ramnište necropolis, dating to the second half of the 4th century, and fragments of *fibulae* were also found at Crkvište (probably the Vizianus settlement), near the necropolis. The most luxurious example came from Taraneš (North Macedonia), in solid gold, belonging to a senior Army official. The niello technique has been used to give it an engraved inscription – *IOVI AUG[uste] VISAS IOVI CAE[sar] VIVAS* – that indicates an institutional character, suggesting that the *fibula* was probably a magistrate's badge of office. Other specimens have been recovered from Zajas-Kičevo, in gilded bronze, Scupi, Isar-Marvinci and Demir Kapija (all in North Macedonia). An officer's silver belt buckle was also recovered from Scupi.

Silver spurs and a buckle from cavalry officers' equipment have been found in the Taraneš–Selokuki–Debar area of North Macedonia.

Now held at the Tirana National Archaeological Museum, this military belt (*cingulum*) can be dated to the second half of the 4th century; it is comparable to the types found at various localities in the West, such as Champdolent (France). The dating of the finds from Zgërdhesh and Kalldrun (Albania), formerly in the diocese of Macedonia, also suggests an early 5th-century date. (Author)

BELOW LEFT
Dated to the late 4th century and held at the Varna Museum of Archaeology (Bulgaria), this fresco from a Christian grave in the Osenovo necropolis represents the fight of David and Goliath, here depicted with shield, spear, conical helmet and Late Roman tunic with *clavi* and *orbiculi*. Notwithstanding Goliath is very roughly represented, on his head is visible a conical helmet, probably a rare depiction of a *Spangenhelm*. Although the painting is highly stylized, it represents well the military accoutrement of the Late Roman infantrymen in the diocese of Thracia. (Author)

BELOW RIGHT
This statuette of a Roman horseman is held at the National Archaeological Museum, Sofia (Bulgaria). The tradition of the Thracian cavalryman was maintained in depictions from the diocese of Thracia, but in the 4th and 5th centuries he was often represented as a Late Roman heavy cavalryman, with *thorax* reinforced with rings (possibly a stylization of mail armour), lamellar armour with thick padded *pteryges* and Iranian-style trousers (*saravara*). (Author)

THE DIOCESE OF THRACIA

This diocese encompassed the provinces of Moesia II, Thracia, Rhodope, Haemimontus, Europa and Scythia.

Iconography

A fresco in the grave found at Silistra/Durostorum (Bulgaria) shows an imperial civic officer dressed in a *chlamis/paludamentum* fastened at the right shoulder with a crossbow *fibula*. He is accompanied by his servants, who wear his clothing: a belt symbolic of the *militia*, his military cloak (*sagum*) and trousers (*anaxyrida*). A 4th-century fresco from the Osenovo necropolis (Bulgaria) represents the fight of David and Goliath.

Helmets and armour

Finds at Krivina/Iatrus include two Dunapentele-Intercisa helmets. Unlike similar finds, a decorated and gilded *Bandenhelm* found at Voivoda (Bulgaria) has diagonal ornaments. According to Lyudmil Vagalinski (Glad 2015: 389), this helmet was discovered in a layer of fire that he associates with the second Hunnic attack in the last third of the 5th century. Krivina/Iatrus also yielded elements of Berkasovo-type helmets, and the fragments of a particular helmet, possibly a combination of a lamellar *cassis* with embossed ears, that resembles a helmet found at Kalkni (Dagestan, Russia). A possible fragment of a Berkasovo-type helmet was found at Sucidava (Romania), and helmet fragments came from Ulmetum (Romania), both formerly in Moesia II.

Various fragments of mail armour (4–12mm in diameter) are attested for 320–420 at Krivina/Iatrus, where copper-alloy rings have also been found. Further *lorica* fragments have been found at Nicopolis ad Istrum (Bulgaria); these are dated to 450, with the usual system of four rings stitched to one. Mail fragments dated to the 4th–5th centuries came

from Halmyris (Romania). Scale elements dated to 400–80 were found at Dičin (Bulgaria), being 3.3mm long and 1.95–2.2cm wide.

Lamellar armour, such as that represented on Constantinople's Golden Gate, is attested by two groups of plates from Babadag-Podul Topraichioi (Romania), dated to the reign of Marcian (r. 450–57), while scale armour is well documented from Nicopolis ad Istrum (325–400 and 450). The copper-alloy scales measure 2.36×2cm and 1.63×0.65cm or 2.44×1.88cm. Larger scales measuring 3.11×2.55cm were also found at the same locality. Cataphract armoured *manicae* and possibly also horse armour excavated at Deultum (Bulgaria) await proper publication.

Shields

Shield fragments found in the diocese include *umbones* of the Dobrodzień (Devnya/Marcianopolis, Bulgaria), Beth-Shan (Sucidava, Čezava/Novae and Krivina/Iatrus), Misery/Zieling H1 and Mălăeşti/Zieling I3 (Krivina/Iatrus) and Vermand (Krivina/Iatrus, second half of the 4th century) types. The Csongrád/Zieling L type, with a high cylindroconical cap and an intermediate groove between the base and the neck, is represented by specimens found at Novae (near present-day Pametnicite, Bulgaria) and Krivina/Iatrus, where a boss of indeterminate type was also found. The Liebenau type is attested at Kula/Castra Martis (378–408), Pernik and Dičin (400–80), while the pointed cylindroconical type is again attested at Dičin (all in Bulgaria).

Weapons

Eight fragments of single- and double-edged blades dated to Valens' reign have been excavated at Babadag-Podul Topraichioi. For phase L1b, the discovery of a curved single-edged blade point among smooth grey and black ceramics of the Cernjahov type, a coral bead and a bone comb with a semicircular handle indicates the presence of Gothic *foederati* at the end of the 4th century.

Found in the former diocese of Thracia and now in the Vatevi Collection (Plovdiv, Bulgaria), this iron greave, following the style of the 3rd-century Künzig examples, measures *c.*13×27cm. Note the presence of holes on the sides for the fastening laces. (Courtesy Rhomphaia Foundation)

Late Roman gilded *Bandenhelm* from Voivoda, formerly in the diocese of Thracia, mid-5th century. This reinforced helmet is similar to crested helmets in its nasal brow guard, while it borrows the flared-edged reinforcements of the *Bandenhelm*. All elements share the hemispherical shape of the crown. This photograph was taken in May 2009, during the exhibition accompanying the international conference 'Military campaigns, weaponry and military equipment' held at the Varna Museum of Archaeology. (Courtesy Professor Valeri Yotov)

Five *spathae* of the 5th century have been found in Romania: two at Moreşti (82cm), one at Bancu (75cm) and one at Sântana de Mureş; the fifth *spatha*, found at Valea lui Mihai, was made from wrought iron (62.2cm), having a pommel with an agate button (4.2cm) and a chape with a gilded bronze frame with garnets. The Illerup-Wihl type is attested at Krivina/Iatrus. Dated to *c.*320–30, a gilded silver *spatha* guard, with niello inscription, was found in a Roman officer's grave at Hârşova/Carsium (Romania); it bears the inscription *VALE/RIANE/VIVAS* ('Long live Valerian').

A 4th-century *semispatha*, with two symmetrical square notches above the guard, was discovered at Telița-Valea Morilor (Moldova). This weapon has a short blade with two parallel edges. The length of these edges, from the guard to the point, is only 26cm, but the weapon's total length is 34.6cm. The notches may have formed a pseudo-guard used to secure a handle with ligatures or to trap the opponent's blade.

Other blades and a spear butt were found at Telița-Valea Morilor and dated to between 408–23 and 423–33, when a military garrison's presence is attested from coins and by a law of 24 April 410. For javelin, spear and lance heads, foliate and rhomboidal shapes predominate. Iron spear and javelin finds include socketed leaf-shaped heads (Novae, Kyustendil/Pautalia, Krivina/Iatrus and Kula/Castra Martis; all in Bulgaria), sometimes strongly tapered and slender (Dičin), socketed with central rib (Telița), with central rib and elongated blade (Sucidava), with long sockets (Krivina/Iatrus) and socketed with slender heads (Kula/Castra Martis and Nicopolis ad Istrum). Iron socketed heads with rhomboidal blade have been found at Telița, Novae, Kyustendil/Pautalia, Šumen (Bulgaria) and Kula/Castra Martis. The iron socketed pyramidal head with square section was found at Novae, Krivina/Iatrus, Dičin, Beroe/Stara Zagora (Bulgaria), Dragoevo (North Macedonia), Telița, and Kyustendil/Pautalia, where triangular-socketed wide iron heads were also excavated. Another triangular specimen came from Zhulud (Bulgaria).

A battle axe with silver decoration and inscription and dated to the 4th century has been found in Constantinople's Great Palace. It corresponds to the miniature of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, in which axe blades are described as being fitted to the weaponry of the *scholae palatinae*.

A trilobate arrowhead frame was found in level IVb of the Tropaeum Trajani (Romania) excavations, dated by typology to *c.*395–450. Groups of arrowheads came from Babadag-Podul Topraichioi (423–33) together with clay balls for slingshots (*glandes latericiae*).

Dated to the 4th century, these *plumbata* javelin heads from the region of Varna (Bulgaria), formerly Odessos in the diocese of Thracia, are held at the Archaeological Museum of Varna. Vegetius mentions (II.15) the *plumbatae* – a type of dart intended to be thrown against the enemy – embedded in the shields of Late Roman heavy infantry. These *plumbatae*, illustrated in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, are also called by this author *mattiobarbuli* or *martiobarbuli*, i.e. the 'little barbs of Mars'. Weighted with a lead ball, from which the weapon derives its name, the *plumbata* renders the enemy's shield unusable when it becomes lodged in it. Thus, the *plumbata* has the same initial function as the *pilum* before it. Various specimens have been found in the Balkans and Pitsunda (Georgia), in the Pontic area. (Author)

Brooches, buckles, etc.

An onion-shaped gold *fibula* was found in a cavalry officer's grave at Hârşova/Carsium. The area around Varna/Odessos and Devnya/Marcianopolis has yielded crossbow *fibulae*, buckles and 'propeller' belt fittings. Crossbow *fibulae* include finds from Pernik and Stara Zagora, and a splendid specimen from Kalugerovo (Bulgaria). Here are also attested Oudenburg-type belt buckles, suggesting the presence of Germanic troops.

A similar silver buckle, decorated with dragon heads, was worn by the occupant of the Hârşova/Carsium grave; he wore two leather belts, one for his *spatha* and the other for his dagger (*culter*); cosmetic bag, containing a double wooden comb, a glass bottle of perfumed oil and a lump of pink eyeshadow; and purse, containing *centenionnales* (uncirculated silver-plated bronze coins). Both belts were decorated with

silver buckles, appliqués and silver strap ends adorned with geometric and floral motifs, made using the niello technique.

Part of a horse harness fitting made of leaded bronze was found near the coastal fortress of Argamum (Romania). We also have preserved specimens of severe curb bits, furnished with lateral bars; a bit of this type is also visible on the 4th-century relief of a Thracian horse found at the sanctuary of Ručej (Bulgaria).

THE DIOCESE OF PONTUS

This diocese included Bithynia, Honorias, Paphlagonia, Helenopontus, Pontus Polemoniacus, Asia, Lycia and Pamphylia, Galatia I and II Salutaris, Cappadocia I and II, Armenia I and II, Armenia Maior, Satrapiae and Taurica.

Iconography

A rich mosaic from Sinop (Türkiye) shows an aristocratic hunter, dressed in short tunic with *clavi* and military *cothurni*. Sarcophagi of military officers and soldiers are preserved at Amasya (Türkiye), where the deceased are represented half bust, with *chlamys*. The tombstone of Tziampo, an imperial *protector* of Diocletian, came from the necropolis at İzmit; Tziampo is represented twice, both hunting on horseback with sleeved tunic and *sagion*, and also in full armour with helmet (see **Plate E1**).

Helmets and armour

A spectacular Late Roman helmet, possibly made by specialized craftsmen at Constantinople, was found in a nomadic grave at Concești (Romania). The owner was probably a high-status aristocrat from a Bosporan culture serving as a client-kingdom of the Roman Empire at the end of the 4th century. He enjoyed Roman objects, with a suite of Roman silverware, a Roman folding stool and a helmet of Roman design.

Notwithstanding the many battles Roman forces fought against the Persians for control of Armenia, the archaeology of body protection has been very scarce in the diocese of Pontus. More information has come from the literature, and a particularly important mention is the Roman use of leather armour during the battle against the Persians for the fortress of Tzirav in 371. The Armenian historian Movses Khorenatsi recounts the wearing of such armour by Roman infantrymen in his *History of the Armenians*, written at the end of the 5th century. In a passage describing the battle of Tzirav, during Valens' campaign against the Sasanian monarch Shapur II (r. 309–79), the author states: 'The Greek [Roman] troops were equipped with gold and silver weapons, and the horses were magnificently harnessed; they looked like a wall! Most wore full armour made of sinew and leather and as hard as stone.' Remains of lamellar armour have been found at Aygavan (Armenia). They are numerous small *lamellae* less than 4cm high with very few perforations, two per flake, and variously dated to the 4th–6th centuries.

Shields

Misery/Zieling H1 and Mălăeşti/Zieling I3 boss types have been found at Tanais (Abkhazia), Mălăeşti (Moldova) and in the Pontic

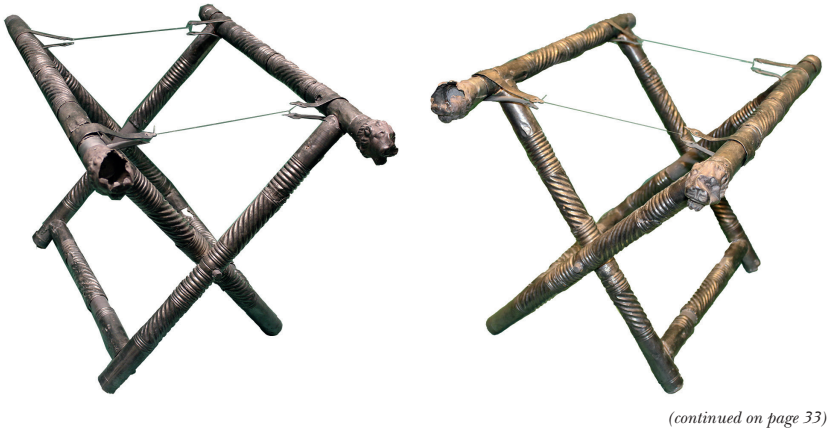
Discovered at İzmit, Türkiye (formerly Nicomedia in the province of Pontus), this detail is from the funerary monument of Tziampo, *protector divini lateris*, from his sarcophagus, c.300.The inscription reads: 'To the spirits of the dead. I, Tziampo, Protector of the Divine Flank, restored my monument, originating from regio Pieucensis, province of Dacia Minor. I lived 50 years. And I want that nobody will be permitted to be deposed here except my son Severus or my wife. I served as horseman for nine years, as *ordinarius* for 11 years, and protected as protector for ten years. But if another [person] dares to open [the sarcophagus], let him give the fiscus 20 *folles* and the city 10 *folles*. On the whole, I served for 30 years. Farewell, passers-by.' For the military equipment, see reconstruction in Plate E1. (Author)

Held at the Hermitage Museum (St Petersburg, Russia) and dated to the 4th–5th centuries, the Concești helmet falls within the Berkasovo-type family of helmets (Berkasovo II), given the inclusion of a base ring and the quadrupartite construction of the helmet bowl. The use of hinges to attach the *bucculae* and the neck guard to the browband and a conical cap distinguish the Conceşti helmet from its counterparts, however, and affiliate it with *Spangenhelme* of the Deir el-Medina/Leiden type. The bowl is formed from four segments that are covered in thin (but high-quality) silver foil and joined in the centre by a distinctively tall bronze ridge. The edges have been decoratively stamped in the usual fashion. The helmet components are held in place by decorative silver rivets, and the repoussé work shows signs of intricate detailing along the ridge itself and near the extemities of each bowl piece as well as the cheeks. Perforations were made for a leather lining around the edge of the *bucculae*. (Author)

region. The Vermand and Dobrodzień types are also attested in the Pontic region.

Weapons

The archaeologist Michel Kazanski has shown that the swords with cloisonné decoration of the Pontic-Danubian model were produced at Constantinople, following the theory proposed by Dieter Quast and Birgit Arrhenius. A bronze gilded cloisonné-decorated handguard from Constantinople has been found in Taman (Russia). The sword hilt was decorated with gold and almandine, in cloisonné style. The style was of oriental derivation and origin, but in Eastern Europe it was influenced by the Greco-Roman tradition. The simultaneous appearance of swords with cloisonné decoration *c.*400 in both East and West, with examples that are a clear evolution of Roman prototypes, has been explained as being the work of Constantinople's ateliers that produced the cloisonné decoration of scabbard and hilts. The colour is no longer visible on the Roman



Silver sheet was not only used to cover helmets. This can be seen in the surviving fittings of this wooden folding chair, which was discovered in a rich grave from the first half of the 5th century at Concești (Romania). Now held at the Hermitage Museum, this chair belongs to the typology of richly decorated military chairs, the so-called *sellae castrenses*, included in the tradition of the ancient Roman–Italic *insignia* linked to military command, for use by, among others, high-ranking military personnel. (Author)

(continued on page 33)

THE DIOCESE OF DACIA

1: *Venator, legio III Gallica*, Felix Romuliana, 305
2: *Eques, auxilium primorum Daciscorum*, Drobeta, 422
3: *Campidoctor, legio VII Claudia*, Viminacium, Ripensis, 350

THE DIOCESE OF MACEDONIA

1: Military servant, north-eastern Peloponnesus, mid-5th century
2: *Eques, vexillatio, equites promoti seniores*, 324
3: *Bucinator, Primi Theodosiani, auxilia palatina*, Stobi, 388

THE DIOCESE OF THRACIA

1: *Centenarius* of the *Celtae, auxilium palatinum*, army of Constantine I, battle of Adrianople, 324
2: *Eques, equites catafractarii Albigenses*, battle of Utus, 447
3: *Miles, mattiari seniores*, Adrianople, 378

THE GARRISON OF CONSTANTINOPLE

1: *Domesticus protector*, 390

2: *Miles, numerus I sagittariorum leonum iuniorum*, 413–50

3: Tribunus of *lanciarii*, 337

THE DIOCESE OF PONTUS

1: Tziampo, *protector divini lateris*, Nicomedia, *c*.300

2: *Clibanarius, cuneus equitum II clibanariorum Palmirenorum, vexillatio comitatensis*, 430

3: *Miles, legio I Pontica, limitanei*, Trapezus, 390

THE DIOCESE OF ASIA

1: Greuthungi mercenary cavalryman, Nakoleia, 390

2: *Dux*, Aphrodisias, 5th century

3: *Miles, Felices Arcadiani iuniores, auxilia palatina*, 450

THE DIOCESE OF ORIENS

1: *Miles, Balistarii Theodosiaci seniores, legio pseudocomitatensis*, Nessana, 390
2: *Ducenarius* of *praeventores*, siege of Amida, 359
3: *Miles limitaneus, cohors III felix Arabum*, *c*.450–500

THE DIOCESE OF AEGYPTUS

1: *Miles, legio II Traiana Fortis*, Apollonopolis Magna, 450
2: *Dromedarius, ala III dromedariorum*, Maximianopolis, 390
3: *Protector* of the *obsequium* of Diocletian, Thebes, 300

works of art today, but the decoration of the hilts of swords such as those represented on the Briseis cup and the Tetrarchs statue in Venice (Italy) could have been realized in cloisonné, sometimes with hilts shaped as eagle heads. The fastening system of the cloisonné swords and of the swords represented on the Roman monuments is identical, as shown by Kazanski (2023: 6–35).

The same can be said of the scramasaxes with ornaments in cloisonné. One of the most beautiful of these Pontic swords has been found at Kerch/Panticapaeum (see D'Amato & Salimbeti 2025: 15), and corresponds in shape and decoration to the one represented on the famous Kerch dish plate representing Constantius II on horseback with his guardsman.

The spear heads found at Kerch/Panticapaeum are of leaf-shaped typology, but interestingly the hunter represented on the Sinop hunting mosaic shows the use of a *saufeder*-style spear, normally used for hunting, but also for war. An actual specimen has been found at Tekija/Transdierna.

During the second half of the 4th century the Roman garrisons of the Black Sea area, formed also by Apsiles and Abasgians, were armed with axes. Specimens with slightly curved heads and military-strength blades have been found at Cebel'da and Chapka-Abgidzrahu (both in Georgia) and Lar (Abkhazia). Their origin can be traced back to the Germanic axes of the Goths, a people also present in these regions and also recruited into the Roman Army.

Rhomboidal trilobate arrowheads are present in the Pontic steppes dated to between the last quarter of the 4th century, and in Crimea during the 4th and 5th centuries in connection with the expansion of the Huns. From Abkhazian discoveries, Y.N. Voronov and N.K. Senkao dated their use to the late 4th and early 5th centuries.

Held at the Hermitage Museum, this *umbo* is dated to the second half of the 4th century. In 1904, bosses made in Constantinople were found in the crypts at Kerch/Panticapaeum in Crimea (known as Taurica to the Romans), sphero-conical in shape and with calotte with faceted decoration in the form of elongated rhombi and triangles. They were made of iron, covered with thin gold plate. Two similar bosses were also found at the same location: they are bronze, with gilding. This example is squatter, 7.5cm high and 20.4cm in diameter, with 12 rivets in the form of nails with large hemispherical heads, collected in four groups. (Author)

Brooches, buckles, etc.

In the diocese of Pontus, military costume is also characterized by the crossbow *fibulae* found in various localities, such as Amasya and Caesarea of Cappadocia, where a splendid gilded specimen came from an officer's grave. *Fibulae* of the Keller-Pröttel type dated to the early 4th century were found at Chersonesus Tauricus (Crimea), among them a silver example (variant 3). Two bronze specimens preserved at the Amasya Archaeology Museum are dated to *c.*325–55. Their typology corresponds to that of the bronze specimens formerly held at the Museum of İstanbul and donated to the Ödemiş Museum (Türkiye), i.e. the Keller-Prottel Type 3/4A, hexagonal in section with large knob-shaped endings, although the foot decoration is close to Swift a10, dated to 325–55. *Fibulae* of this type were worn by senior officers of the Roman Army or high-ranking Roman administrative officials. A buckle with an embossed ornament in the Hermitage Museum collection was found during excavations at Chersonesus Tauricus; it measures 7.6×6.4cm.

Various types of horse harness divisors were in use, often with a crossed pattern or heart-shaped. From Anatolia, probably Cappadocia, recalling previous Phrygian and even Urartean prototypes, harness ornaments in the form of three rings centring the head of a bull surmounted by an eagle with one talon resting on the bull's forehead were spread from the 3rd century and used until the 6th century. These kinds of divisors were placed where two or three straps connected, held in place by the leather straps.

Two views of a Late Roman *umbo* of the Beth-Shan type, from the diocese of Asia and dated to the 5th century, now held at the Hisart Museum (İstanbul). Iron bosses of this kind are distinguished from those of the Zieling M-R1 type by the presence of an intermediate neck between the base and the boss. They feature a high neck with wide margins. The internal and external diameters are smaller than for the Zieling M-R1 type, even though the width of the base is similar. (Author)

THE DIOCESE OF ASIA

This diocese included the provinces of Hellespontus, Lydia, Asia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia and Lycaonia.

Iconography

While 4th- and 5th-century military artefacts from the relatively peaceful diocese of Asia are scarce, we can combine the data of the iconography and archaeology. Rich evidence for military costume came from the diocese's cities. Dated to the early 4th century, the statues of military commanders found at Cyzicus wear elegant anatomical armour (*thorax heroikon*) worn over a padded *thoracomachus*, made of quilted strips and fitted with thick pendant *pteryges* at waist and shoulders, protected by separated spherical *humerales*.

Helmets and armour

Finds in the diocese of Asia do not include Late Roman helmets, and information comes from the iconography only. Two terracotta figures from Sagalassos (near Ağlasun, Türkiye), dated to the end of the 5th century, represent Roman heavy cavalrymen in full armour. One of them wears a lamellar helmet of the style visible on the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki, belonging to the category of the Kishpek-Mineralnye Vody helmets. On another statuette a cavalryman has a Phrygian-style helmet.

The Sagalassos statuettes depict the armour worn by the *clibanarii* or *cataphractarii*, composed of a set of scales covering the body and a *manica* for the right arm. Besides the anatomical armours from Cyzicus and other localities, and the *squama* armour visible on the statue of a *dux* from Aphrodisias (Türkiye), the iconography confirms the *cataphractarii*'s use of scale and laminated armours. *Equites cataphractarii* served in the field army of the *magister militum praesentalis II* in the diocese of Asia.

Shields

The small shield attached with a strap to the arm of the heavy *bucellarii* mentioned by Procopius is also visible on the Sagalassos statuettes. From the archaeology, an *umbo* of Beth-Shan type, dated to the 4th–5th centuries and said to have been recovered in Asia Minor, is today held at the Hisart Museum (İstanbul).

Held at the Bandırma Archaeological Museum (Türkiye), this fragment of a statue of a military commander is dated to the early 4th century. Among the late Tetrarchic and early Constantinian statues from Cyzicus in the diocese of Asia, this fragment shows us that from the early 4th century, some armour featured a leather structure on the breast and shoulder, which would became typical in the medieval Roman Army. (Author)

During recent excavations at Iasos (Türkiye), formerly in the diocese of Asia, an interesting Late Roman spearhead (inv. 7731) has been found. It bears comparison with the spears represented for the mobile Roman Army of Theodosius I, as visible on the remains of that emperor's column, and with some of the spearheads visible on the base of the Obelisk of Constantinople's Hippodrome (see p.6). (Author)

Weapons

While no sword specimens dated to the 4th or 5th centuries have been properly catalogued or published in the diocese of Asia at the time of writing, *cultra venatoria* have been found at Iasos (Türkiye).

Among the bolts found at Pergamon (Türkiye), some can be identified as Late Roman. The socket diameter of the bolt suggests darts or lances.

The Roman Army's extensive use of axes in this diocese is attested by numerous finds, notably from the 4th century onwards. A fragment from Iasos is similar to axes found in the camps of Greek, Anatolian and Balkan *foederati*, and can be dated to the first half of the 4th century. It closely resembles axes of the Gothic *foederati* stationed on the Lower Danube, types A3 and A4, associated with the Przeworsk culture. Iron double axes (*bipennes*) have also been found at Iasos and in the Bodrum area (Türkiye), like the ones represented on the Antioch mosaic showing Greeks fighting Amazons.

Finds at Cıngırt Kayası (Türkiye) include trilobite iron arrows, of socketed form. While these arrowheads were predominantly found in the Eastern provinces during the 1st–3rd centuries, the presence of such typology at Kibyra (Türkiye) in the 6th century suggests they were used in Pontic regions over a long timeframe.

Brooches, buckles, etc.

Crossbow *fibulae* for officers and soldiers have been found across the diocese of Asia: important specimens are visible in the museums of Cyzicus, Ephesus and elsewhere.

An important copper-alloy side piece of a horse bit, 142mm in length, was found at Sardis (Türkiye). It is a slender, tapered rod with octagonal section, the narrower end bending up. At each end is a conical finial, the larger one decorated with incised radiating lines. A double loop is riveted to the centre of the rod for attaching to harness. The bit shows a marked similarity to Romano-Egyptian specimens from Ballana (Egypt), especially the one found in grave B73-2.

Iron fragment of a battle axe (?) (inv. 3706) from the *agora* of Iasos in the diocese of Asia. Much of the blade is symmetrical, markedly triangular and tapering toward the base. The fragment is similar to axes left by the Gothic *foederati* of the Przeworsk culture, as well as Greek, Anatolian and Balkan axes. It can be dated to the 4th century. (Author)

Mosaic with hunter, from the House of the Amazons (Zippori, Israel) in the diocese of Oriens, 5th century. Note the beautiful *paludamentum*, fastened by a round gemmed brooch, and the Saufeder-type hunting spear. The hunting spears with wings, recurrent in iconography, appear to be of a different type and with a triangular blade. An echo of these spears seems to be found in a depiction of Rome in a late manuscript of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, in which the winged spear is the symbol of power. The Late Roman aristocracy in the East and West employed it for both purposes. (Courtesy Carole Raddato)

THE DIOCESE OF ORIENS

This diocese encompassed Cilicia I and II, Isauria, Euphratensis, Mesopotamia and Osroene, Cyprus, Syria I and II Salutaris, Phoenice, Phoenice Libanensis, Palaestina I and II, Palaestina III Salutaris and Arabia.

Iconography

The paintings at the Abila necropolis, an arcosolium south of the grave of Beith Ras (Jordan), depict Greek warriors represented as *palatini* wearing white tunics with *orbiculi* and *segmenti*, and carrying wide shields. The mosaic at Rastan (Syria), representing scenes from the *Iliad*, includes oval metallic *scuta* with gilded decorations, *semispathae*, embossed shields and Pseudo-Corinthian helmets.

Helmets and armour

The el-Haditha (Jordan) helmet (Nicolle 1994: 30) was found in 1976 and from the pottery that accompanied it could be dated to 350–420. It consists of a bowl formed by a wide iron strip; iron rivets near the edge (on one side and on the rear) suggest that the helmet was once fitted with cheek pieces and a neck guard. According to T. Parker (1994: 385ff), the helmet could have belonged to a retired veteran from one of the units the *Notitia Dignitatum* lists for the Dead Sea area: the *equites Mauri Illyriciani*, the *equites indigenae sagittarii* or the *legio IV Martia*.

The helmets from Yotvata (Israel), dated to the 4th–6th centuries, are interesting. A neck guard, in iron, and a cheek guard with copper-alloy rivets were found. A crest of the Intercisa IV type has been discovered in Syria (exact location unknown). A remarkable aspect of the mosaic at Meroth synagogue (Israel), probably dating to *c.*400, is Goliath's helmet, which is positioned alongside him with his shield and sword. It can be identified with the series of helmets that Henry Russell Robinson classified (1975: 96ff) as Cavalry Types E–H, the best example of which was the Heddernheim specimen. The colour is yellow, suggesting copper alloy or bronze.

The Huqoq (Israel) mosaic shows a Hellenistic general or ruler, dressed in the full battle attire of a Roman emperor (possibly a representation of Julian), with purple *paludamentum* and muscled armour of brownish colour, worn over a white *thoracomachus*. He is followed by troops wearing Heddernheim-style helmets and steel armours with round shoulder plates, and armoured elephants. The army is shown meeting an older figure, grey-haired and wearing a white tunic, accompanied by young men in Late Roman Jewish dress, armed with sheathed *semispathae* of Khisfine type. Slaughtered beneath the feet of the Jewish priest and his warriors, Roman soldiers wear *semispathae* suspended from baldrics. Other elements represent biblical scenes with Samson, who is wearing a Roman red military belt with 'propellers', and episodes from the Book of Exodus representing Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea, in which the Roman soldiers representing Egyptians wear knee-length *tunicae* with vertical *segmenta*.

The Abila necropolis paintings show Achilles and his opponents as *thorakophoroi*, with muscled armour painted brown with brown *pteryges*, probably meaning leather both for armour and *subarmalis*. Actual

specimens are few, but armour scales dated to the 4th century were excavated at Lajjun (Israel).

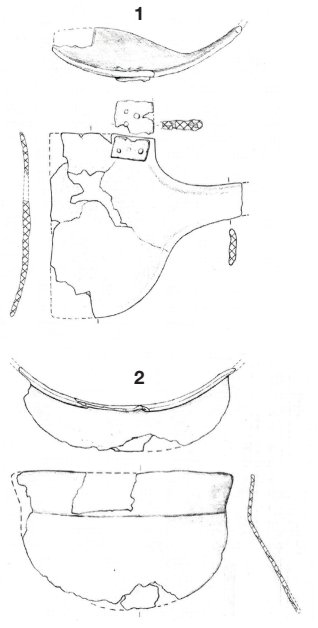
Shields

The area's main *umbones* certainly belong to the Beth-Shan type (5th century), named after a discovery made in Israel. The discovery of an *umbo* of Mălăeşti/Zieling I3 type in Syria, held at the Aleppo National Museum, testifies to its use by the Roman armies of the East. An *umbo* of the Vermand/Zieling G1/I1 type, dated to the beginning of the 5th century, is depicted on mosaics at Apamea (Syria) and Zeugma/Commagene (Türkiye). Another was discovered in the Hauran region (spanning Syria and Jordan) and is currently housed in the National Museum of Damascus (Syria).

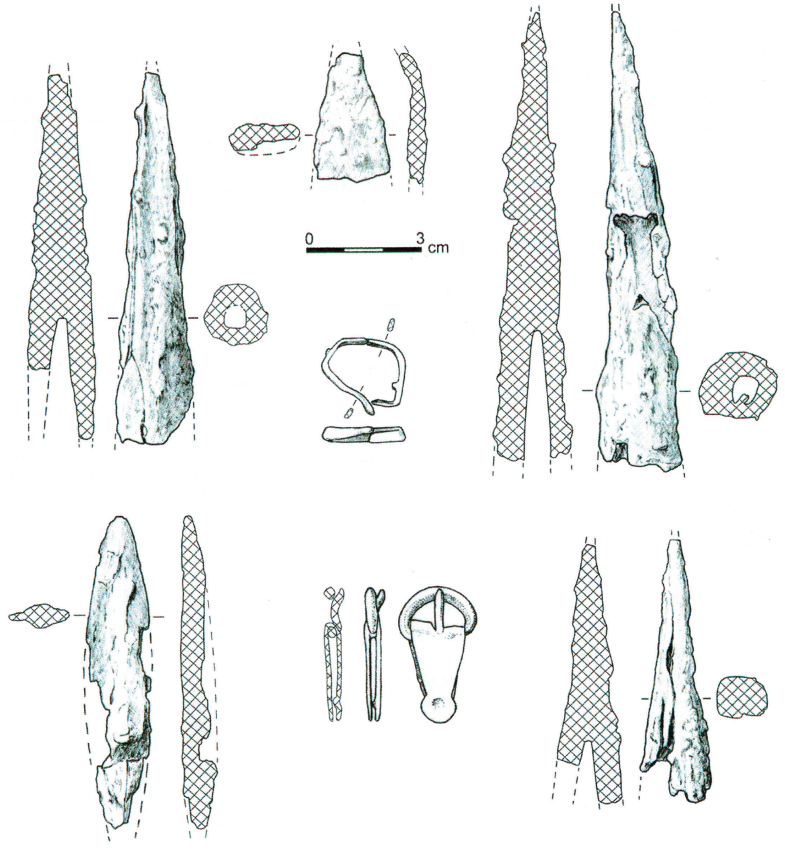
Weapons

Spathae are reported from Late Roman contexts at Tel Dor (Israel), Khisfine and Nawa (both in Syria). The unique find of Khisfine, the chronology of which is extended by Christian Miks until the early 4th century, has improved our comprehension of the hilt structure of a Roman sword of the period, although for its length (52cm) this sword could be considered more properly a *semispatha* belonging to the Straubing-Nydam type. It was built using three ivory elements, divided, before assemblage, into three separate sections: handguard, handgrip and pommel. The handguard was half-oval shaped, without inlay or decoration, the pommel ellyptical. The tang was then beaten to form a junction for the lock-washer and the system of grip assemblage. The chape was in ivory, decorated with a central gold rivet. A hilt with eagle protome, in ivory (10.7×3.3cm), is preserved at the Adana Archaeology Museum (Türkiye); it corresponds to the hilt of the senior commanders' and emperors' swords represented on statues at Constantinople. Along with other iron knives, an iron dagger blade, 10.4cm long and 1.8cm wide, was found at el-Lejjun (Betthorus, Jordan); it was probably a military *culter venatorius*.

The city of Irenopolis in Cilicia (present-day Düziçi, Türkiye) specialized in the production of spears (*hastiarii*). Hunting weapons are well represented during the first half of the 5th century in surviving mosaics, such as at Antioch, depicting, among others, a certain Narcissus as an imperial officer hunting in a white *tunica militaris lintea auroclavata paragaudata*. His spear has curved 'wings' on either side of the blade, like a specimen from Tekija/Transdierna. In the Eastern Roman Empire the long spear (*contus*, *kontòs*) was used as a shock weapon. Mosaics of hunting Amazons at Zippori (Israel) show the use of javelins with triangular head, like Abraham on a mosaic from the same locality. From Yotvata and el-Lejjun we have a good deal of spearheads and iron and bronze ferrules, and even small iron nails of the type used to attach a ferrule. One bronze ferrule from el-Lejjun was pierced by two iron studs, used to reinforce the attachment of the spear point or tool blade to a wooden shaft. Other elements from the same locality included an iron dart point, long, tapered and round in section, with the tang partially preserved; an iron javelin head long and flat in section; and an iron spearhead round in section. Among the items found in the legionary camp there were many iron spikes and lead slag, a by-product of the fabrication of weights for weapons such as throwing darts (*plumbatae*) and javelins (*veruta*).



Intercisa-style helmet from the fortress of Yotvata (Israel): (1) cheek guard, iron with copper-alloy rivets (length 110.95mm, width 161.30mm, thickness 6.41mm); (2) neck guard, iron (length 154.37mm, width 177.70mm, thickness 6.13mm). The bend and outward flaring of the Yotvata neck guard is consistent with the Ridge typology, but the Yotvata cheek guard shows variations in the connection between the cheek guard and the helmet bowl. While the general shape is consistent with the Ridge-type cheek guard, the riveted connection resembles the *Spangenhelm* from Deir el-Medina, Egypt (D'Amato 2022: 39). (Drawings by Andrea Salimbeti, ex Ratzlaff 2015)



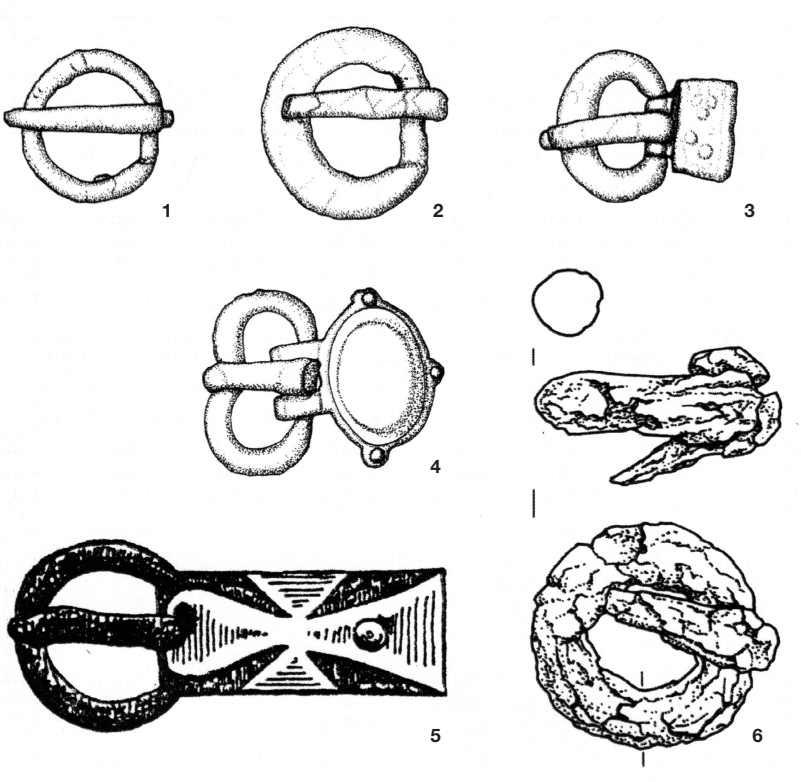
Late Roman militaria from the fortress of Yotvata in the diocese of Oriens, 4th–6th centuries. Iron spearheads/butts with solid tip and hollow socket: (1) spearhead (length 120.82mm, diameter 20.77mm tapering to 4.10mm); (2) spearhead or butt (length 70.96mm, diameter 16.62mm tapering to 3.62mm); (3) spearhead or butt (length 98.09mm, diameter 18.98mm tapering to 5.88mm). Copper-alloy *fibula* (4), bow-shaped and simple hinge design (length 17.16mm, width 17.94mm). Iron arrowhead or fragment of spearhead (5), oblong, tapering to a point, and flattish surface with built-up curvature on the reverse side; broken off at the bottom where the tang connects to the head (86.93×16.19mm). Copper-alloy strap-buckle (6) with a D-shaped loop (36.12×20.14mm). Iron arrowhead, fragment of tip (7), triangular, slightly curved towards tip (34.03×19.38mm at widest, tapering to 7.72mm at tip). (Drawings by Andrea Salimbeti, ex Ratzlaff 2015)

The *dolabra*, still in use as a pick-axe, was involved in the war axe's revival in the Roman Army. A *dolabra* was found in layers of the 4th century at Lajjun, together with the previously mentioned armour scales. In the Roman Army, tools were often used like weapons and weapons like tools. Employed in camp and during military expeditions, the axe was a very useful tool for the building of war machines and small boats, for making fires, and for the construction of military camps: Vegetius mentions (*Epit.* II.25) *dolabrae*, *secures*, *asciae* and *serrae* among the tools used for these activities among the legion's workers (*artifices*). The *milites* often used *dolabrae* and *secures* to clear the way for the mobile army in places where they were most vulnerable to enemy attack.

For the period 363–502, the camp of *legio IV Martia* at el-Lejjun has revealed an iron double-barbed arrowhead, 4cm long (only the barb is preserved) with a central reinforcement ridge down both faces.

Brooches, buckles, etc.

Important elements of standards have been found in Arabia and at el-Lejjun. In the al-Sabah Collection (Kuwait) there is a statuette of a Roman general or emperor, originally dated to the 3rd century, but in the present author's opinion datable to the reign of Constantine I. The statuette is in cast bronze made in several sections and joined together, with inlaid eyes. The armour is typical of the Late Roman period, and the statuette, 87cm high and 63cm wide, could have



Military buckles from the diocese of Oriens, dating from *c*.400 to the mid-5th century: (1) Homs (Syria); (2 & 3) Jerusalem (Israel); (4) Rastan (Syria); (5) Mount Nebo (Jordan); (6) Petra-ez-Zantur (Jordan). (Drawings of Andrea Salimbeti, ex Eger 2015)

formed the upper part of an *imago* staff. At el-Lejjun, gold foil was found in the socket of a standard base; it was probably intended to embellish the standard.

Belt elements were also found during excavations. From el-Lejjun we have a bronze terminal from the apron of a *cingulum.* The pendant is composed of a narrow rectangular strip of hammered bronze threaded through a small bronze ring. Each end of the strip was perforated for the suspension of smaller pendants and the whole hung from a leather thong affixed to the ring. From the same site we have a fragmentary bronze hoop possibly used as a chatelaine or attachment point of a military belt. Interestingly, objects related to the soldier's personal hygiene were also found: small tweezers with a loop for attachment to a chatelaine, and an ear scoop and nail cleaner. There have been abundant finds in the diocese of Oriens of the usual crossbow *fibulae* (again at el-Lejjun, with a long deep catch, decorated with a conical boss at the top), flourishing in Syria since the age of Constantine I; and elegant examples of gold buckles for military officers. One belt ornament from the al-Sabah Collection was fabricated from gold sheet and wire with granulation and inset with a central glass panel. Another belt ornament measuring 7.2×7cm, from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, is said to have been purchased in 1937 from the Bustros family (Beirut, Lebanon).

Horse harness is not only depicted in the magnificent mosaics of Syria and Israel: part of a large square-cornered iron belt buckle for the belly belt of a horse was excavated at el-Lejjun, together with an iron ring from a snaffle bit, of the type already attested from Dura-Europos (Syria) for the 3rd century.

Dated to the early 4th century and held at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, this stela fragment (inv. 25.2.14) depicting a military god is said to be from Iuny/Hermonthis (present-day Armant, Egypt). Military gods were especially popular in the Roman period. In particular, some Egyptian gods such as Horus or Anubis now appeared in the guise of soldiers or soldier-emperors. (Metropolitan Museum/Public Domain)

THE DIOCESE OF AEGYPTUS

This diocese included Aegyptus, Augustamnica, Arcadia, Thebais, Libya Superior and Libya Inferior.

Iconography

At the time of writing, the corpus of Roman military materials from Aegyptus and Nubia is yet to be classified properly. The iconography is very rich, however. The ancient Egyptian gods, such as Horus and Anubis, are often represented as Roman officers, clad in muscled armour worn over a *thoracomacus* with various rows of *pteryges*. Icons of the 5th century represent military saints dressed in the same way. The frescoes of the Kharga Oasis (Al-Bagawat, Egypt) show *equites clibanarii* carrying *draco* standards and foot soldiers marching in an orderly fashion, with spears, shields and white tunics (Negin & D'Amato 2018: 53).

Helmets and armour

The *Spangenhelm* now in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden, Netherlands) and the Deir el-Medina helmet (D'Amato 2022: 39) confirm the employment of these categories of military headgear among the Egyptian garrisons. The Leiden iron conical helmet (18.8cm tall, 21.0×20.5cm diameter) shows a very well preserved lining, in deer or antelope skin. The lining was 6mm thick and fashioned from a single piece of skin, inserted inside the helmet and sewn all around the holes of the helmet's rim. The helmet was composed of four segments with straight sides with a scarcely visible groove in the middle. The other parts of the helmet were four triangular iron leaves, nailed behind the *Spangen* and fastened by two nails to the rim of the helmet. The iron rim was 4cm wide and 5mm thick. The 16 holes (11 on the front and five on the back) for the fastening of the lining were spaced 2–3cm apart. Originally, as shown by Vogt (2006), the helmet featured an iron or copper-alloy eyebrow like that of the Deir el-Medina helmet and had a hanging ring over the top, again like the Deir el-Medina helmet.

The Roman troops in Aegyptus did not use only metallic helmets: two important items of military headgear made of crocodile skin were found at Hipponon/Qarara (Egypt), together with lamellar leather armour made of the same material. The helmets and their cheek pieces are made from the reptile's uncut skin. The first helmet consists of a 15cm-high conical cap with a cut-out at the front of the forehead, a rectangular neck guard (23×14cm), and cheek pieces, one of which survives (12×13cm). The neck guard is made of individual scales, similar to the armour, and is attached to the helmet by metal loops; the side pieces hung from loops made of narrow leather strips. All parts are lined with thin leather. A decoration, feathers or a tuft of hair was probably attached to the round hole at the top. The second helmet (17cm in height) is simpler in shape and appears to have been unlined; its neck guard and one cheek guard are missing. All the material was found in Late Roman layers of the 5th and 6th centuries.

Many helmets were furnished with crest-holders and plumes. Writing at the end of the 4th century, Synesius explains (*Encom. Calvitii* 17) that the plumes were made of horsehair (*trixi*) or feathers fixed in parallel

rows of small holes either in the crest or directly into the helmet itself, emerging from small holes on the upper skull of the helmet. Synesius uses the word *pilos* to indicate the internal lining of the helmet, nailed inside the helmet skullcap.

In the robbers' passage leading into tomb 3 at Qustul (Egypt), fragments of leather armour were also found, with the breast-plate, in stamped leather, having survived. We should remember that the greater part of the Ballana material was imported from Aegyptus.

Held at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden, Netherlands), this terracotta artefact is from the diocese of Aegyptus. The soldier represented here was probably part of an *ala dromedariorum*. Note the interesting system of water supply, necessary for the troops operating in this area. Reconstruction in Plate H2. (Author)

Shields

It is from Aegyptus that we have, probably from el-Fayoum (Egypt), rare examples of Late Roman shields preserved with their decoration. The discovery of these shields has allowed a better clarification of the structure and composition of the Roman round shield in the 5th century and of their decoration. They recall the tradition of lavishly painted shields, already evident with the Dura-Europos finds: one depicts Romans and North African warriors in combat, while a second shows a hunting scene and a full-length military officer, painted below the boss, wearing a white tunic and a short cloak.

The analysis of these two circular shields, probably found in the el-Fayoum region and studied at the University of Trier by Dr Klaus Peter Goethert, has revealed the following characteristics. The shields were made from cedar wood, covered by animal hide (goat or sheep). The wooden planks were 4–6cm wide and about 7cm thick; the stitch measured about 6cm and the planks were glued in a flat way, then slightly wedge-cut in an irregular fashion. The leather was glued on the wooden surface by means of an animal glue, and then – a standard characteristic for the most part of Late Roman shields – sewn all around the edge. The stitch holes were *c.*4–8mm from the outside edge and made at intervals of 2–2.2cm or *c.*3cm. Each shield was lavishly painted on the leather surface, first with the basic ground colours (white, yellow and red *carminium*), then the decorative circles, the vegetal and ornamented decorations and finally the other figures; after that, the painter enhanced the brilliancy of the colours.

A metal *umbo* was probably fixed on the shield with the hunting scene; a metal handgrip was fixed inside the shield, which accords well with the metal handgrips found in the warrior graves of Abkhazia, Crimea and the Black Sea, the shapes of which correspond also to those shown on figurative monuments. The diameters of the shields were 108cm and 98cm; their convexity varied from 5.5cm to 6cm.

This *umbo* is of a cylindroconical type with a point, the use of which began in the last decades of the 5th century. It underlines the very strong presence of Germanic troops in the diocese of Aegyptus, located there c.379–80. English Egyptologist William Flinders Petrie connected this *umbo* with the presence of Germanic *foederati* in Aegyptus, in the *Thebais*, but this typology was also found at Dičin. (Petrie Museum of Egyptian and Sudanese Archaeology)

Weapons

Blades from Aegyptus are rare, but – if belonging to the same period as the Leiden helmet – a fully preserved *spatha*, following the tradition of the Cologne *spatha* typology, is also held at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. The blade is said to have come from Gebelataca (Suez Canal) and belongs to the Mainz typology used for the *gladius*, being identified as the Haltern-Camulodunum variant (Miks 2007: 583), but its

total length (72.2cm) and general shape is that of a *spatha*. A bronze rivet is inserted in the ivory globular hilt, which is fitted with four finger grooves. The guard is semi-oval over a rectangular base. The sword originates from the art market and, according to the first verifiable seller, a Parisian antiquarian, was found at the location indicated above in Egypt. From Akhmim/Panopolis (Egypt) came a suspension button for a scramasax, proof of employment of Germanic troops in the area, and short single-edged *semispathae* of Roman origin have been found in the Ballana graves.

Javelin and spear heads were found during the Flinders Petrie excavations: they await a proper publication but some of them are clearly Late Roman (e.g. LDUCE-UC56290, with marked triangular blade, possibly a standard head). The fragment of an African red-slip plaque shows a moulded gladiator or *bestiarius* holding a long spear or staff. A limestone slab shows the figure of the god Bes as a Roman soldier brandishing a sword in his right hand and holding a spear and shield in his left hand in low relief. The collection also holds seven dart heads, probably catapult bolts (LDUCE-UC63344).

The 'wild olive' quoted by Synesius of Cyrene refers to the usual material for the club, or quarterstaff, often iron-shod. Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, took a leading part in organizing defensive measures for Ptolemais, levying volunteers and procuring arms against the desert raiders, during the fourth quarter of the 4th century. Writing to his brother (*Ep.* 108), he gives us a very interesting detail of the arsenal of the soldiers, armed to confront Libyan raiders, among which the axes appear to be a regular weapon of the Roman *stratiotai*. Among the weapons Synesius mentions is the war axe (*pélekys*), now finally a constant in the weaponry of the provincial soldiers.

In his letters and sermons, Synesius also mentions the *Unnigardae*, operating on the borders of Cyrenaica. He praised them, detailing their military actions and even requesting more troops of this kind from the general Anysius, of whom they were personal *bucellarii*. Of Hunnic origin, they were with all probability horse-archers, and according to Synesius, 40 of them were able to defeat thousands of raiders.

Brooches, buckles, etc.

A legionary eagle of the 4th or 5th century was found in the Babylon fortress in Egypt (D'Amato 2020: 12); the bronze specimen is also confirmed by the miniatures of the *Notitia Dignitatum*. Those for the Egyptian fortresses do not show *vexilla*, but eagles as *insignia* of the cities.

The Roman military dress of the 4th and 5th centuries is evident in the artefacts found at Antinoë, Akhmim/Panopolis and other Egyptian localities. While the colour of the belts and baldrics represented on artworks is usually brown or red, Albert Gayet found yellow leather belts upon the bodies of military officers at Antinoë.

While the old kind of four-horned saddle continued to be used at least until the end of the 4th century, padded saddles, without the typical four-cornered angles, and with a wooden structure covered by leather, began to be attested in the same period. This type of saddle is well illustrated on the now lost Diocletianic military frescoes from the Luxor complex, in Aegyptus, where it was represented in an imperial cult scene. It appears to have a quilted padded cover and a possible wooden frame with a low

Military *torques* from the diocese of Aegyptus, *c*.390–480. The collection held at the Egyptian Museum (Cairo) possesses important elements of Roman military accoutrement, among them this *torques*, of the type usually associated with *draconarii*, guardsmen and *campidoctores*. Flinders Petrie, who published a similar *torques*, confirmed that it was worn by northern troops passing through Aegyptus in Late Roman times. Down to the partition of the Roman Empire in 395, northern troops were constantly serving in Aegyptus. (Author)

pommel and a cant. This kind of saddle was the forerunner of those used by the medieval Roman Army. Heavy multicoloured saddle covers (*ephippia*) in various colours are often shown in Egyptian paintings (e.g. at Luxor) and in carved wooden artworks. Roman military horses also wore small bells, like those found in the harness equipment of the Nubian graves of Ballana, imported from the Roman Empire. From Ballana we also have a clear idea of the structure of the Late Roman saddles used on the southern borders of Aegyptus.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Note: For reasons of space, we can list here only the ancient sources, with abbreviations for in-text references in (parentheses), and modern scholarship explicitly referenced in the text. A full Bibliography can be found on the Osprey website by following: www.ospreypublishing.com/discover/extended-bibliographies-and-tables/maa-570/

Ancient sources

Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm. Marc.), *The Histories-Res Gestae*, Latin text and English translation by J.C. Rolfe, LCL, 3 vols. London, 1939–50

Itinerari Antonini, De Rebus Bellicis et Notitia Dignitatum, Bibliotheca Palatina, Codex Spirensis (1426–1550)

Ms.Vat.Lat. 3225/0145 *Vergilius Vaticanus*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Notitia Dignitatum, Bodleian Library MS. Canon. Misc. 378

Notitia Dignitatum (ND Oc.), *accedunt Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae et Laterculi Provinciarum*, ed. O. Seeck, Berlin, 1876

Sexti Aurelii Victoris quae vulgo habentur scripta historica, in F. Schroeter (ed.), 2 vols, Lipsiae, sumptibus Augusti Lehnholdi, 1829–31

Synesii Cyrenaei, *Calvitii Encomium*, Stuttgart, 1834

Vegetius (Veg.), *Military Art – Epitoma Rei Militaris* (Epit.), in *The Military Institutions of the Romans – Epitoma Rei Militaris* (390 AD) by Flavius Renatus Vegetius, ed. J. Clark, 1767–1940

Vegetius: *Epitome of Military Science*, ed. N.P. Milner, Liverpool, 1996

Vergilius Romanus, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Lat. 3867, Facsimile Edition, Zurich, 1985

Scholarship referenced in text

Alföldi, A. 'Ein spätrömisches Schildzeichen keltischer oder germanischer Herkunft' in *Germania* 19 (1935): 324–28

Barker, P., *The Armies and Enemies of Imperial Rome, 150 BC–600 AD* (Worthing, 1983)

Bishop, M.C. & Coulston, J.C.N., *Roman Military Equipment, From the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome* (Oxford, 2006)
Bonnard, D., Calament, F. & Durand, M., *Antinoé, à la vie, à la mode, Visions d'élégance dans les solitudes, Catalogue de l'exposition au musée des Tissus de Lyon (1er octobre 2013–28 février 2014)* (Lyon, 2013)
Boss, R., 'The Sarmatians and the development of early German mounted warfare' in *Ancient Warrior* 1 (1994–95): 18–25
Boube-Piccot, C., *Les bronzes antiques du Maroc, IV. L'équipment militaire et l'armement* (Paris, 1994)
Bugarski, I., 'Fragment of a Late Roman parade helmet from Singidunum', in *Singidunum* 4 (2005): 137–46
Buora, M. & Jobst, W., *Roma sul Danubio, da Aquileia a Carnuntum lungo la via dell'ambra* (Rome, 2002)
Cascarino, G. & Sansilvestri, C., *L'esercito romano, armamento ed organizzazione, vol. III, dal III secolo alla fine dell'Impero d'Occidente* (Rimini, 2009)
D'Amato, R., *Roman Army Units in the Eastern Provinces (2): 3rd Century AD*. Men-at-Arms 547 (Oxford, 2022)
D'Amato, R., *Roman Army Units in the Western Provinces (3): 4th–5th Centuries AD*. Men-at-Arms 557 (Oxford, 2024)
D'Amato, R. & Salimbeti, A., *The Goths 200–711 AD*. Elite 261 (Oxford, 2025)
Eger, C., '*Habitus militaris* or *habitus barbarus*? Towards an interpretation of rich male graves of the mid 5th century in the Mediterranean' in C. Ebanista & M. Rotili, eds, *Aristocrazie e Societá fra transizione Romano-Germanica e Alto Medioevo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi Cimitile-Santa Maria Capua Vetere, 14–15 giugno 2012* (San Vitaliano, 2015): pp. 213–36
Emery, W.B., *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul* (Cairo, 1938)
Forrer, R., *Die Graeber und Textilfunde von Achmim-Panopolis* (Strasbourg, 1891)
Gayet, A., *Le costume en Egypte, du IIIe au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1900)
Giuliano, A., *Arco di Costantino* (Milano, 1955)
Glad, D., *Origine et diffusion de l'équipment défensif corporel en Méditerranée Oriental (IVe–VIIe s.)* (Oxford, 2009)
Glad, D., *L'armement dans la région balkanique à l'époque romaine tardive et proto-byzantine (284–641)*. Héritage, adaptation et innovation (Paris, 2015)
Hendzel, J., 'The reconquest of Dacia by Constantine the Great' in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 116.1 (2023): 1–52
Hottenroth, F., *Il Costume, Le Armi, Gli Utensili dei Popoli Antichi e Moderni*, Vol. I–II (Rome, 1887–92).
Kazanski, M., 'A propos des armes et des éléments de harnachement "orientaux" en Occident à l'époque des Grandes Migrations (IVe–Ve s.)' in *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 4, (1991): 123–39
Kazanski, M., 'L'équipement et le matériel militaires au Bas-Empire en Gaule du Nord et de l'Est' in *Revue du Nord* 77 (1995): 37–54
Kazanski, M., 'Les épées "orientales" à garde cloisonnée du Ve–VIe siècle', in E. Istvanovits & V. Kulcsar, *International Connections of the Barbarians in the 1st–5th Centuries A.D.* (Aszod and Nyiregyhaza, 2001), pp.389–418
Kazanski, M., 'Prestigious finds and Post-Hunnic Centers of Power in Dnieper Region' in O.V. Sharov, ed., Terra Barbarica and 'Non-Roman Elite' (St Petersburg, Kishinev, Odessa & Bucharest, 2018): pp. 83–118
Kazanski, M., 'Два вида портупей в позднеримское время и в эпоху Великого переселения народов' [Two types of sword belts in the Late Roman period and the Great Migration period] in N. Alekseenko, ed., ΧΕΡΣΩΝΟΣ ΘΕΜΑΤΑ: империя и полис (Sebastopolis–Balaclava, 2023): pp. 141–47
Kazanski, M., ed., *Barbarians on the borders of the Eastern Roman Empire*: collection of articles by M.M. Kazansky / rep. ed. A.I. Aibabin & E.A. Hayredinova (in Russian) (Simferopol, 2023)
Kazanski, M. & Mastykova, A., *Tsibilium II, La nécropole apsile de Tsibilium L'étude du site* (Oxford, 2007)
Kazanski, M. & Vallet, F., ed., *L'armée romaine et les barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècle* (Paris, 1993)
Kazanski, M. & Vallet, F., ed., *La noblesse Romaine et les chefs barbares* (Paris, 1995)
Klumbach, H., *Spätrömische Gardehelme* (Munich, 1973)
Miks, C., *Studien zur Romischen Schwertbewaffnung in der Kaiserzeit*, Vols I–II (Rahden, 2007)
Miks, C., *Von Prunkstück zu Altmetall – Ein Depot spatromischer Helme aus Koblenz, Mosaiksteine, Forschungen am Römisch-Germanische Zentralmuseum*, Band 4 (Mainz, 2008)
Negin, A. & D'Amato, R., *Roman Heavy Cavalry (1): Cataphractarii & Clibanarii, 1st Century BC–5th Century AD*. Elite 225 (Oxford, 2018)
Negin, A. & D'Amato, R., *Roman Heavy Cavalry (2): AD 500–1450*. Elite 235 (Oxford, 2020)
Nicolle, D., *Yarmuk 636: The Muslim Conquest of Syria*. Campaign 31 (London, 1994)
Parker, S.T., 'El Haditha' in *American Journal of Archaeology* 98 (1994): 549
Popović, I., Živić, M., Lazić, M., Sladić, M., Petković, S., Srejović, D., Čanak-Medić, M., Stojković-Pavelka, B., Janković, Đ. & Popović, A.V., *Felix Romuliana, Gamzigrad* (Belgrade, 2011)
Ratzlaff, A., 'The militaria and small finds' in Boaretto, E., *et al*., *The 2003–2007 Excavations in the Late Roman Fort at Yotvata* (University Park, PA: 2015): 201–19
Stephenson, I.P. & Dixon, K.R., *Roman Cavalry Equipment* (Stroud, 2003)
Various, *Daco-Romana*, 2 vols (Bucharest, 1980)
Vogt, M., *Spangenhelme: Baldenheim und verwandte Typen* (Darmstadt, 2006)

PLATE COMMENTARIES

A: THE DIOCESE OF DACIA

A1: *Venator, legio III Gallica*, Felix Romuliana, 305

From the mosaics of Felix Romuliana. The man is dressed in a green *tunica paragaudata*, with *clavi* and *orbiculi* in purple, marking his belonging to the Imperial entourage. The Piazza Armerina mosaics evidence the employment of green tunics with embroidery (*paragaudia*) for Tetrarchic soldiers. Whether the green was used for hunting camouflage we cannot say, but certainly the green garments were part of military prerogative. The head and butt of his hunting spear (*venabulum*) and his *culter venatorius* are from the Gamzigrad/Felix Romuliana excavations, as are the military *cingulum* components. Note his *campagi raeticulati*, worn over puttees (*fasciae crurales*). The great shield, without *umbo*, was designed for hunting parties.

A2: *Eques, auxilium primorum Daciscorum*, Drobeta, 422

This man has an Intercisa-type iron helmet of the type found at Telita. He wears a *squama* (from Sremska Mitrovica/Sirmium) worn over a quilted *thoracomacus*. The majority of his equipment is from the Drobeta fortress: the spearhead, the *umbo* of Dobrodzień type, and the important elements of Kerbschnitt belts; pieces similar in shape and ornamentation, and especially the plates with the two animals facing each other are also known from Aquileia and dated to the 4th–5th centuries like those from Drobeta-Turnu Severin/Hinova. The horse harness elements follow those found at Viminacium.

A3: *Campidoctor, legio VII Claudia*, Viminacium, 350

From the Four Seasons fresco in Novi Sad Museum (Serbia). The *pileus pannonicus*, embroidered tunic and *anaxyrida* have been reconstructed from actual specimens (Hermitage, Egyptian desert and Thorsberg). The iron *thorax* is from the Sid sarcophagus, while his iron helmet with copper-alloy elements is copied from the Singidunum fragments. The fresco shows an early example of a military flag (*bandon*), probably used for training duties. This element, and the *torques*, could help to identify the figure as a training officer, or *campidoctor*.

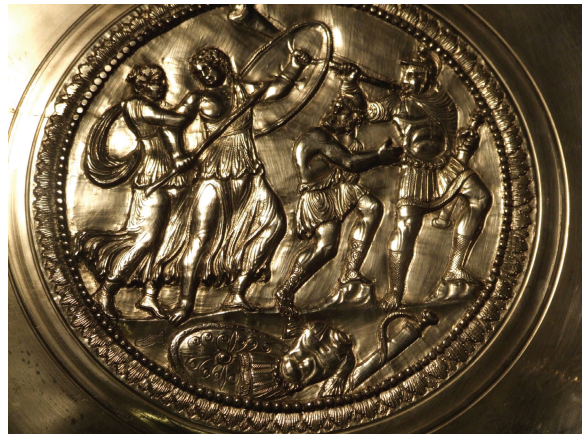
B: THE DIOCESE OF MACEDONIA

B1: Military servant, Peloponnesus, mid-5th century

From the Mosaic of the Four Seasons at Argos. *Calones* and other military servants were an integral part of the Army, in hunting parties as well as warfare. The man wears a short *bardocucullus* with hanging sleeves, over his *tunica manicata*. Trousers (*bracae*) were an integral part of military accoutrement, derived from both Easterners and northern Europeans. Even if their usage was still considered at the end of 4th century to be 'Barbarian', justifying the Imperial measures of 397 and 399 (*cod. Theod.* XIV.10.2–3) which forbade their wearing ('inside the venerable city of Rome nobody should use trousers and small boots [*tzangia*]'), their use within the Army was already almost 200 years old. His weapon is a *culter venatorius*.

B2: *Eques, vexillatio, equites promoti seniores*, 324

The cavalryman is copied from the casket of Eleutherna, on which Achilles is represented as a Late Roman cavalryman, wearing as his main protection a quilted *thoracomachus* over a *globa*. The reconstruction of his pseudo-Attic helmet, with elements of ridge-helmets typology, has been realized by using fittings from the Richborough helmet and the iconography of Eleutherna and Santa Maria Maggiore's mosaics. Spearhead, *fibulae* and belt elements are all from the archaeological artefacts found in the diocese (Zgërdhesh and Kalldrun). The colour of his embroidered tunics is from the Piazza Armerina mosaics, which represent the *equites promoti* of the Constantinian dynasty. Note the shield's internal handle, copied from actual specimens and corresponding to the ones depicted on contemporaneous monuments.



Held at Augusta Raurica (Switzerland) and dated to *c*.330–40, this silver dish from Thessalonika depicting scenes from the life of Achilles shows important military details for the 4th-century Roman elite. (Author)

B3: *Bucinator, Primi Theodosiani,* Stobi, 388

The *bucinator* is copied from the silver dish found at Augst (Switzerland), but made in the diocese of Macedonia. He wears a pseudo-Corinthian helmet with eagle protome, similar to the 3rd-century specimen from Brigetio and the Iron Gates, and a bronze muscled *thorax*, showing the fastening system represented on the Colossus of Barletta (Italy). Note his elaborate *thoracomacus* with *pteryges*, worn under the armour, and the *cothurni* according to the Hellenic style. The *bucina* has been reconstructed from the example found in Pannonia, but modified according the style of the iconographic source. The *fibula* fastening the *paludamentum* is from the Museum of Skopjie.

C: THE DIOCESE OF THRACIA

C1: Centenarius of the *Celtae, auxilium palatinum*, army of Constantine I, battle of Adrianople, 324

From the pilasters of the Arch of Constantine. The officer wears anatomical armour in leather (*thorax*) and a silvered coated pseudo-Attic helmet, with extensions for the ears and a metallic crest. The great muscled armour, in hardened leather and with bronze appliqués, seems to have undergone a revival at the beginning of the 3rd century, and it continued in the 4th and 5th centuries. The *deigmaton* of his shield has been studied by Andreas Alföldi and identified, among other possibilities, with the emblem of the *Celtae*, one of the new units of *auxilia palatina* created by Constantine I. The belt fitted with 'propellers' is well illustrated on the internal reliefs of the Arch of Constantine.

C2: *Eques, equites catafractarii Albigenses*, Utus, 447

The archaeological evidence has attested in Vidin or Artschar (both in Bulgaria) the employment of old helmets of Heddernheim typology at the time of the Hunnic destruction. Large portions of iron mail armour were found together with the helmet and modified according to 5th century patterns (Negin & D'Amato 2018: 31). Also found were cataphract's limb armour (Negin & D'Amato 2018: 39) and horse harness

Held at the Çanakkale Archaeological Museum (Türkiye), this stele shows that the Roman Army's employment of the four-horned saddle continued in this period, together with the introduction of saddles with raised arches from the Tetraxites and the Steppe peoples. Note how the straps of the *antilena* and *postilena* pass under the *ephippium* to be attached to the saddle structure. (Author)

elements, among which was a fully preserved Thracian bit. The ensemble corresponded to the armour of a *cataphractarius*. We have added to his armour a *squama* for the breast, knee protections from the depots of Lyon Museum and segmented protections for the leg, from a private collection.

C3: *Miles, mattiari seniores*, Adrianople, 378

This soldier wears a gilded version of the Intercisa helmet from Lussonium (near present-day Dunakömlőd, Hungary). The white *tunica manicata* embroidered with purple *segmenta* is a prerogative of his belonging to a *legio palatina*. As offensive weaponry, apart from his *spatha*, he relies on his *plumbata* javelin (from a specimen at the National Archaeological Museum, Sofia), mounted upon a shaft for throwing at long distance. The name *mattiarii* is likely to have come from *mattiobarbuli* – the lead-weighted throwing darts with which infantrymen were equipped, also known as *plumbatae*, from their lead weights, and as *martiobarbuli* (the 'little barbs of Mars'). The mail *lorica* is reconstructed from fragments found at Iatrus.

D: THE GARRISON OF CONSTANTINOPLE

D1: *Domesticus protector*, 390

From the remains of the Column of Theodosius. *Domestici protectores* served on the battlefield, armoured in body-fitted muscle *thoraces* in painted leather. His helmet is based on the specimen found at Richborough (England). This pseudo-attic style *cassis* was sometimes in metal (like here), sometimes composed of a leather core (gilded for Imperial Guardsmen) with bronze elements riveted to it. Not only do the surviving fragments of the Column show its use by Imperial bodyguards, but the helmet itself is a confirmation of the painted helmets (*picturatae galeae*) mentioned in the Theodosian Codex. The *scutum* bears the Christian *chrismon*, representing the initial Greek letters (*X* [*chi*] *P* [*ro*]) of Christ's name.

D2: *Miles*, *numerus I sagittariorum leonum iuniorum*, 413–50

This *hyppotoxotas* is using his composite bow, reconstructed from the specimen found at Scupi. The bow is nocked using a thumb-ring, a technique depicted in the mosaics of the Great Palace of Constantinople. He wears the *Bandenhelm* found at Voivoda, in iron and gilded copper alloy. The sword's hilt and guard are decorated in cloisonné, gold and garnet. The saddle is of the type in wood with raised arches, spread through the Empire by Tetraxites and Huns. The harness is from Kerch/Panticapaeum, with garnet, gold and almandine.

D3: Tribunus of *lanciarii*, 337

This officer's helmet of Deurne-Berkasovo typology is from the specimen of Jarak (Serbia); the scale armour is reconstructed from the copper-alloy specimens found in Nicopolis ad Istrum, while his belt, in gilded silver, is from a type spread from 282 (Silistra/Durostorum) and still in use in Pannonia and Syria during the 4th century. The *fibula* fastening the cloak is from Constantinople, while the tunic embroidery is from the Late Roman textiles depot in Lyon, discovered by Albert Gayet in Antinoë's graves.

E: THE DIOCESE OF PONTUS

E1: Tziampo, *protector divini lateris*, Nicomedia, *c*.300

From his sarcophagus found in the Nicomedia necropolis. His Deurne-Berkasovo-type (Berkasovo II) helmet has a feather crest. His *lancea* finds parallels with spearheads from Dalmatia and Moesia, triangular with barbs. A clear parallel of the large *scutum* can be seen on the reliefs from Nicomedia, and with the *protectores* visible on the Arch of Constantine. He wears a *squama*, while white tunics with purple-brown *segmenta*, grey *anaxyrida*, gilded crossbow *fibulae* and black *campagi* (here from a specimen found at Ackmim-Panopolis) are the colours and attributes of *protectores* depicted on the Piazza Armerina mosaics. The *spatha*, with a scabbard of Gundremmingen type, is suspended from the belt in Sasanian style.

E2: *Clibanarius*, *cuneus equitum II clibanariorum Palmirenorum*, *vexillatio comitatensis*, 430

The imposing *clibanarius* wears *manicae*, *squama* and *lorica*, and a helmet of Roman origin found only partially in Iatrus and in Kalkhni (Dagestan). The figured ears of this 5th-century lamellar helmet with a conical cup are clearly indicative of Roman influence, with the addition of mail fragments that formed the curtain of the helmet. This open-mask helmet was formed by a large horizontal plate equipped with a nasal piece and a realistic rendering of the ears embossed on the sides, and lamellar skullcap. The horse is protected with a felt caparison, like those visible on the Freshfield Theodosian drawings and the colours of the African mosaics.

E3: *Miles*, *legio I Pontica*, *limitanei*, Trapezus, 390

From the sculpture on the Church of St Anna at Trabzon and the Sinop hunting mosaic. The man wears a *Bandenhelm* from the Pontus area, and a double tunic (*armelausion* and *tunica manicata*) ornamented with *clavi*, and *anaxyrida* closed in high *cothurni*. The fastening crossbow *fibula* is from the Amasya Archaeology Museum. His weaponry is taken from the military graves of Apsiles, *foederati* of the Empire in the area near Pontus: the spearhead, the spiked spear-butt and the sword, from the warrior grave 61 at Tsibilium.

F: THE DIOCESE OF ASIA

F1: Greuthungi mercenary cavalryman, Nakoleia, 390

The Gothic costume is taken from the Freshfield Theodosian drawings, that realistically show fur coats with long hanging sleeves, and early examples of *zostaria* tunics, then adopted

by the Roman Army. The drawings correspond with the costumes of the Gothic *foederati* of the Carrand Diptych and with those from the Obelisk of Theodosius. His shield *insignia* is that of the *Tervingi*, from the *Notitia Dignitatum*, while the *umbo*, spearhead and sword are from the grave of the Gothic warrior buried at Thessaloniki, reconstructed with the help of similar specimens from Crimea and the Balkans.

F2: *Dux*, Aphrodisias, 5th century

Extremely important is the 5th-century statue of a possible *dux*, preserved in the Aphrodisias Archaeological Museum, with *squama*, greaves and *paludamentum*. Here, the man has been reconstructed with a Pseudo-Corinthian helmet, visibile on the period iconography, with purple *pennae* and *juba equina*; a Late Roman gilded *squama*, with copper-alloy scales from a private collection; a *spatha* with eagle protomes and gemmed scabbard, like that on the sculpture of the Golden Gate at Constantinople; a scarlet-red *paludamentum* decorated with *tablion;* and red *cothurni* worn under richly embossed greaves.

F3: *Miles*, *Felices Arcadiani iuniores*, *auxilia palatina*, 450

This man's dress follows a mosaic representing a hunting soldier whose white tunic, with *tablia* and *segmenta*, identifies a *miles palatinus*. We have added a mail *lorica*, reconstructed from fragments found at Nicopolis ad Istrum, and an Intercisa helmet, from a private collection, possibly found in Thracia. The war axe is from Iasos; the short breeches visible on the mosaic, with crenellated borders, echo those of the Freshfield drawings of the marching soldiers depicted on the Column of Theodosius.

G: THE DIOCESE OF ORIENS

G1: *Miles*, *Balistarii Theodosiaci seniores*, *legio pseudocomitatensis*, Nessana, 390

The Meroth Synagogue mosaic (Israel) and the Huqoq mosaic are illustrative of the continuing employment, in the East, of the old Heddernheim and Niederbieber helmet types from the Eastern units. The man is protected by an iron *thorax*, visible on the soldiers of the Huqoq mosaic and on the Mosaic of the Four Seasons at Argos. He uses a *ballista* of the type found in Moesia II. Only two *ballistae* of this type have been discovered in Romania, at Orșova and Gornea, and dated to the 4th century. These machines could project an arrow with such force that it could pierce an opponent's iron shield from a distance of 800m.

Held at the Louvre (Paris, France) and dated to the 4th century, this mosaic from Antioch depicts a fight between a Greek horseman, dressed like a Roman officer on horseback, and an Amazon woman armed with a *bipennis* axe, a double-edged weapon. Note the medallion hanging from the *antilena* and the low saddle covered by the *ephippium*. Reconstruction in Plate G1. (Author)

G2: *Ducenarius* of *praeventores*, siege of Amida, 359

The man is copied from the Roman officer depicted on the Amazon mosaic from Antioch, held today at the Louvre. His bronze anatomical armour (*thorakion heroikon*) is fastened by a leather structure. The weapon is a *bipennis*, a double-headed axe later attributed to the *excubitores* of the Imperial Guard, and confirmed from Late Roman specimens preserved at Iasos and in the Glas Museum of Gaziantep. The helmet, visible on the mosaic, is an Intercisa type, and the horse harness is copied from the mosaic with integrative elements taken from the Bawit paintings and finds at el-Lejjun.

G3: *Miles limitaneus*, *cohors III felix Arabum*, c.450–500

Intercisa-type helmets are attested from el-Haditha (Jordan) and other localities, such as Yotvata. All of these helmets feature a simple, bipartite crown (ridge type) without lateral reinforcements. The absence of a forehead band implies the absence of a nose-guard. These helmets were usually equipped with a loosely fitting metal neck cover and straight *bucculae* attached to the crown by pieces of leather, but the helmets of the diocese show a system of attachment of the *bucculae* through clasps, in a system identical to the Deir el-Medina *Spangenhelm*. The other parts of the equipment are copied from finds at el-Lejjun. The composite bow and the clothing are taken from the Great Hunting Mosaic at Apamea.

H: THE DIOCESE OF AEGYPTUS

H1: *Miles*, *legio II Traiana Fortis*, Apollonopolis Magna, 450

He wears the Leiden helmet, a *kranos* of *Spangenhelm* type, here reconstructed with the missing parts. His main armour is the crocodile-skin *thorax* from Hipponon/Qarara (Egypt). The sword, which follows the classical Roman typology, is from the Suez specimen. Note the bands wrapping his legs, exactly as found on the body of a military officer from Antinoë.

H2: *Dromedarius*, *ala III dromedariorum*, 390

From a statuette in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. The man is wearing an embroidered white tunic, typical of the soldiers represented in Egyptian paintings, and a Phrygian hat. Over the tunic is a cloak, from a specimen preserved in the Florence Museum, and fitted with a cape. His main weapons are the bow and arrows, here integrally copied from the specimens at Ballana and Qustul. The *antilena*, *postilena* and belly straps were attached directly to the wooden saddle, which was covered by leather and embroidered cloth.

H3: *Protector* of the *obsequium* of Diocletian, Thebes, 300

The distinctive 'uniforms' of the Diocletianic soldiers and guardsmen depicted on the Luxor Imperial Cult Chamber frescoes find a nearly identical correlation with the clothing material of Aegyptus, found especially in Antinoë and Akhmim/Panopolis and here used for the reconstruction. The shield is copied from the fresco, and represents an *unicum* in the panorama of the Roman shield *deigmata*. Barbed javelins are represented in the hands of the hunting guardsmen depicted on the Piazza Armerina mosaics, and the specimen here reproduced is from the Roman East. Note the heavy bracelets around his wrist, and the beautiful crossbow gold *fibula*, from Egyptian finds, which fastens the *sagum* copied from a specimen from Akhmim/Panopolis.

INDEX

Figures in **bold** refer to illustrations. Plates are shown with page and caption locators in parentheses.

Aegyptus 6, **H** (32, 47), 40–43
Apsiles 7, 12, 33
Arcadius, Roman emperor 4, 7
armour
  Aegyptus **H1** (32, 47), 41
  Asia **F2–3** (30, 47), 34, **34**
  Constantinople **D1** (28, 46), **D3** (28, 46)
  Dacia 12, **A2–3** (25, 45)
  Imperial Guard **6**
  Macedonia 17, **B2–3** (26, 45)
  manufacture 11
  Oriens **G1–2** (31, 47), 36–37
  Pontus 23, **E1–2** (29, 46)
  Thracia 20–21, **20**, **21**, **C** (27, 45–46)
  see also helmets and headgear
Asia **F** (30, 46–47), 34–35
auxilia palatina 6, **C1** (27, 45)

Balkans 3, 4, 5; *see also* Dacia; Macedonia; Thracia
bandon **4**
brooches and belt buckles *see fibulae* and belt buckles
bucinatores **B3** (26, 45)
Byzantium *see* Constantinople

camels **H2** (32, 47), **41**
campidoctores **4**, 5, **A3** (25, 45)
Cape Bon, battle of (468) 4
cavalry
  Asia 34
  Dacia **13**, 16, **A2** (25, 45)
  Gothic **F1** (30, 46–47)
  Macedonia **B2** (26, 45)
  organization 6
  Pontus **E2** (29, 46)
  Thracia **20**, **C2** (27, 45–46)
chairs, military **24**
chariots **7**
clibanarii **E2** (29, 46), 34
clothing and uniforms
  breeches **F3** (30, 47)
  cloaks **13**, **17**, **H2–3** (32, 47), 36, **36**
  footwear **4**, **B3** (26, 45), **F2** (30, 47)
  trousers **4**, **20**, **B1** (26, 45)
  tunics **4**, 12, **20**, **A1** (25, 45), **A3** (25, 45), **B1–2** (26, 45), **C3** (27, 46), **D3** (28, 46), **E1** (29, 46), **E3** (29, 46), **F1** (30, 46–47), **F3** (30, 47), **H2** (32, 47)
  see also armour; helmets and headgear
Constantine I the Great, Roman emperor 3, 4–5, 18
Constantinople 3, 4, 5
  Column of Arcadius **7**
  Column of Theodosius **6**, 35, 46, 47
  garrison **3**, **6**, **D** (28, 46)
Constantius II, Roman emperor 4, 33

Dacia 4, 5, 12–16, **A** (25, 45)
Danube, River
  defences 4, 5–6, 7, 16
  helmets 14
  weapons 15, 19
dromedarii **H2** (32, 47), **41**
duces **F2** (30, 47)

fibulae and belt buckles
  Aegyptus **H3** (32, 47), 42
  Asia **5**, 35
  Constantinople **3**, **D3** (28, 46)
  Dacia 15–16
  Macedonia 19, **19**, **B2–3** (26, 45)
  Oriens 38–39, **38**, **39**
  Pontus 33, **E3** (20, 46)
  Thracia 22–23, **C1** (27, 45)
flags **A3** (25, 45)
fortifications 4–5

gods **40**
Goths 4, 7, **F1** (30, 46–47), 35

helmets and headgear
  Aegytus **H1** (32, 47), 40–41
  Asia **F2–3** (30, 47), 34
  caps **4**, 12, **A3** (25, 45), **H2** (32, 47)
  Constantinople **6**, **D** (28, 46)
  crocodile skin 40
  Dacia 12–13, **14**, **15**, **A2–3** (25, 45)
  Imperial Guard **6**
  Macedonia 17, **18**, **B2–3** (26, 45)
  manufacture 11
  Oriens **G** (31, 47), 36, **37**, **47**
  Pontus 23, **24**, **E** (29, 46)
  Thracia 20, **20**, **21**, **C** (27, 45–46)
horse furniture
  Aegyptus 42–43
  Asia 35
  Constantinople **D2** (28, 46)
  Dacia 12, 13, 16, **A2** (25, 45)
  Oriens **G2** (31, 47), 39, **47**
  Pontus 33, **E2** (29, 46), **46**
  Thracia 21, 23, **C2** (27, 45–46)
Huns 4, 18–19, 42
hunters 12, **12**, **17**, **A1** (25, 45), **B1** (26, 45), **36**

Illyricum 3, 4, 6
Imperial Guard **6**, 7, 46
Istanbul *see* Constantinople

Licinius I, Roman emperor 4, 12, 18

Macedonia 4, 7, 15, 17–19, **B** (26, 45), **45**

Odoacer 3, 4
Oriens **G** (31, 47), 36–39

Pontus 23–33, **E** (29, 46)

Roman Army
  officers **4**, 5, **13**, 20, **D3** (28, 46), **F2** (30, 47), **47**
  organization and composition 4–7
  reforms 4
  unit distribution 8–11

saddles **D2** (28, 46), **H2** (32, 47), 42–43, **46**, **47**
  see also horse furniture
servants, military **B1** (26, 45)
shields
  Aegyptus **H3** (32, 47), 41, **41**
  Asia 34, **34**
  Constantinople **D1** (28, 46), **D3** (28, 46)
  Dacia 13–14, **A1–2** (25, 45)
  Gothic **F1** (30, 46–47)
  Imperial Guard **6**
  Macedonia 17, **B2** (26, 45)
  manufacture 11
  Oriens 37
  Pontus 23–24, **E1** (29, 46), **33**
  Thracia 21, **C1** (27, 45)
Singidunum 4, 7, 13, 14, 15, 16
Stilicho 4

Theodosius I, Roman emperor 4, 5, 7
Theodosius II, Roman emperor 4
Thessalonika 4, 5, **45**
Thracia 4, 20–23, **C** (27, 45–46)
torques **4**, **A3** (25, 45), **43**
Tziampo 23, **23**, **E1** (29, 46)

Unnigardae 42

Vandals 4, 5

water supply **41**
weapons
  arrows 14–15, **15**, 18, 19, **19**, 22, **H2** (32, 47), 33, 35, 38, **38**
  axes **6**, **7**, 11, 15, 18, 22, **F3** (30, 47), **G2** (31, 47), 33, 35, **35**, 38, 42, **47**
  ballistae **G1** (31, 47)
  bows 18, **D2** (28, 46), **G3** (31, 47), **H2** (32, 47)
  cloisonné 24–33, **D2** (28, 46)
  clubs 42
  knives **17**, 18, **A1** (25, 45), **B1** (26, 45), 35
  other swords 21–22, 24–33, **C3** (27, 46), **D2** (28, 46), **E3** (29, 46), **F1** (30, 46–47), **H1** (32, 47)
  scramasaxes 18, 33, 42
  spathae 14, 22, **E1** (29, 46), 37, 41–42
  spears and javelins 14, **15**, 18, **19**, 22, **22**, **A1–2** (25, 45), **B2** (26, 45), **C3** (27, 46), **E1** (29, 46), **E3** (29, 46), **F1** (30, 46–47), **H3** (32, 47), 33, 35, **35**, **36**, 37, **38**, 42

Zeno, Roman emperor 3, 4, 7